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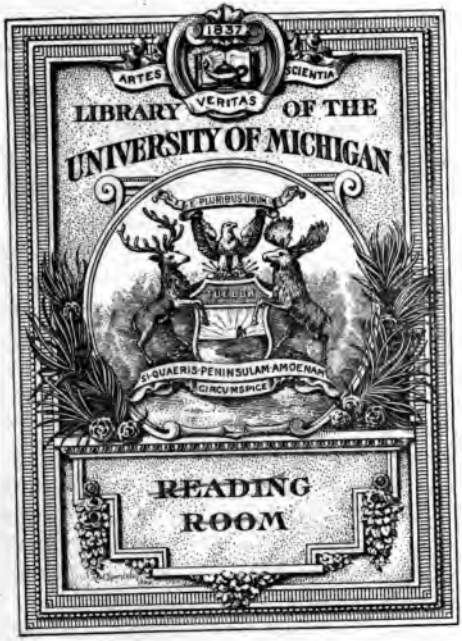
EDUCATIONAL SERIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH, A.M., PH.

TWO CENTURIES OF PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

ISAAC SHARPLESS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EDUCATIONAL SERIES

EDITED BY

MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH, A.M., PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF PEDAGOGY, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR PUERTO RICO

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TWO CENTURIES

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OF

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

BY

ISAAC SHARPLESS

PRESIDENT OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE

PHILADELPHIA

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

1900

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

PENNSYLVANIA justly merits the proud title, "The Keystone State." Her history more than her geography gave her commanding relations to the sister colonies clustered along the western margin of the Atlantic. Her great founder and first English owner, William Penn, is the noblest character in America's colonial history. In Pennsylvania every creed and every nationality was not only tolerated but welcomed. Her colonial life was more complex than that of any sister colony. To mould this life, so unlike in nationality, in religion, in civic ideals, and in industrial experience, into a unified people is one of the noblest records in the annals of any nation. To the credit of her people this was done without persecution and without coercion.

Three great groups of people laid the foundations of the Commonwealth. The Quakers, under the great Penn, occupied the territory within a radius of thirty-five miles, giving themselves to commerce in Philadelphia and to agriculture in the fertile valleys of Bucks, Chester, and adjacent counties. Beyond these, in a zone fifty miles wide, settled the sturdy and patient Germans, giving birth to German-American literature, establishing Protestant missions among the Indians, tilling with signal success the fair acres of Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Cumberland, and contiguous counties, founding the great textile industries of the Schuylkill Valley, and developing a home life unique for its strength and its simplicity. Beyond these, in the valleys between the Blue and the Alleghany Mountains, lived the sturdy Scotch-Irish pioneers, pushing the frontier to the Ohio Valley, repelling Indian attacks, provoking strife by their restless haste to penetrate the wilderness, and establishing churches and schools in every valley and upon every hill-top of the interior.

Between these pioneers and the conservative Quaker government there was constant strife, and the German held the balance of power. The early Germans affiliated with the Quakers and controlled the government. The later Germans gradually went over to the aggressive pioneers and aided them finally to gain control of the government. This triumph of the Scotch-Irish was due not only to German support, but also to the change of the proprietary from the faith of the founder. The Scotch-Irish and the newer German life dominated the colony during the Revolution, organized the State government, and gave direction to its subsequent history.

To know this record in detail, to learn the personalities back of each move in the changing scene, and to find portrayed the influences that developed each crisis are essentials to a knowledge of colonial conditions in Pennsylvania, and, because of her prominence, in America.

The reader will find herein a definite discussion of the leading factors that contribute to the making of a great commonwealth. He will also find a typical study of influences that condition the educational growth of any social or civic group. The work thus properly may be incorporated into an educational series. No intensive study of pedagogic maxims will afford the right mental attitude for true teaching. There must always be, in addition to professional study, a critical and extended study of related truth. Only in this wider field does the student of educational theory find the necessary insight to avoid the follies of charlatanism and to shun the evils of bigotry. The best teacher-training includes a broad, general culture as well as an extended pedagogic training.

This volume is the product of a critical study by a master mind of the colonial and commonwealth epochs in the unfolding of a great people. That the author is also an able teacher and student of pedagogic truth lends additional weight and value to his discussion.

M. G. B.

July 4, 1900.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

THE PENNSYLVANIA INDIANS.

WHEN the white settlers came to America in the seventeenth century, they found the country very sparsely peopled with Indians. What was their origin and how many generations they had lived here are still unsettled questions. It has been estimated there may have been three hundred thousand within the limits of the present United States and six thousand in Pennsylvania. These figures are of very doubtful authority, but it is certain that their nomadic habits and manner of procuring their food required great stretches of territory. Their little villages were widely separated, and even their great councils were not largely attended.

The Indians east of the Mississippi, as indicated by their language and customs, were of two great branches or stocks. The Algonquin included all who dwelt along the sea-coast from Labrador to Georgia, as well as those who inhabited the country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. They were called Pequods and Narragansetts where they met the settlers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Mohegans in the Hudson Valley, Lenni-Lenape in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Nanticokes around the Chesapeake, Powhatans and Shawnees in the South.

The other stock was the Iroquois. They lived in Ontario, Western New York, and Northern Pennsylvania, and down the valley of the Susquehanna to the Maryland border, and were almost surrounded by the Algonquin. The Cherokees

and Tuscaroras of the South were their offshoots. Iroquois is their French name. The Lenape of Pennsylvania called them Mengwe, which the whites corrupted into Mingoes. Later, their confederacy was known as the Five Nations, made up of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. To this compact the Tuscaroras were afterwards admitted, making the Six Nations.

The Lenape claim to represent the parent stock of the Algonquin. The other tribes called them grandfather. They have a tradition that they once lived far beyond the Mississippi River, but learning of lands to the eastward they formed with the Mengwe an alliance for conquest, crossed the great river, drove the Indians there to the South and divided the lands between them. Another tradition, better supported by linguistic considerations, is that their original home was near Hudson Bay and that their emigration had been towards the South and West.

The Iroquois and the Lenape were traditional enemies. The advantage when the Pennsylvania settlers arrived was with the Northern tribes, and the Lenape were in a state of semi-vassalage. They were called "women," and were denied the right to declare war or even to sell land.

The settlers of Pennsylvania thought it wise to buy first of the Lenape or Delaware Indians and then of their feudal lords, and the Five Nations took several conspicuous opportunities to impress upon the unlucky Delawares their subject condition. These attempts were, however, made only in the presence of an overwhelming force of sympathetic whites.

The Lenape of the Delaware Valley were divided into three sub-tribes: (1) The Minsi or Minisinks who lived in the mountainous regions above the junction with the Lehigh; (2) the Unami whose lands reached from the Lehigh southward, including the present site of Philadelphia, until they touched those of (3) the Unalachtigo whose central residence was about Wilmington, Delaware. It was with the two latter tribes that Penn made his celebrated treaties. The first had for its totem the wolf, the second the turtle,

and the third the turkey. The Unami were accorded the pre-eminence, their symbol meaning the great tortoise upon which the world rested. There were also various tribes of the Lenape in New Jersey.

The Shawnees were originally a Southern tribe. They were a restless, roving set. While acknowledging the Lenape as grandfather, they were not always filial in their relations. About 1700 a considerable number of them wandered northward and settled in Pennsylvania, and with the Delawares, after the estrangement of about 1750, became the most vigorous enemies of the whites. A tribe of the Iroquois dwelling on the Susquehanna in Lancaster County, the Conestogas, had also an unfortunate history in their relations to the whites and are frequently mentioned.

The government of the Indians was effective for their purposes.

They had no writings of consequence; but oral traditions had great vitality. The head man of the tribe was the Sachem, and the wise men with him formed the council. His authority extended over his tribe in relation to peace questions only. In case of war a council composed of approved braves made all decisions. Important conclusions were reached only after grave deliberation, in which experience and wisdom had their due weight. An Indian council was a dignified and oftentimes an eloquent and far-seeing body.

The vividness with which treaties were handed down from father to son made them fairly secure. While perfidious to the last degree to confessed enemies, the Indians were faithful to their allies. In Pennsylvania they stood by their compacts with the whites, and were quick to see and appreciate a similar spirit in the other party. Nor were the agreements of their Sachems put aside as invalid by rebellious subjects. Respect for authority, the sacredness of decisions regularly made, obedience to the acts and the traditions of their tribe were kneaded into their early education. The belts of wampum and the parchments and papers containing their foreign obligations were, at periodic

intervals, laid out before the young men of the tribe and, with solemn advice, each document was connected with its peculiar bond, and its sacredness impressed upon them. There were, of course, unsettled questions between the tribes, and this required the purchase of land over and over again from different claimants, but an open, well-understood sale was not denied or evaded.

The government of the tribe acknowledged its accountability for the crimes of individuals. A murderer of a white was denounced and surrendered for punishment. There were, of course, reprobates who would not live within the laws of the tribe, and were looked upon with contempt. So long as their crimes were petty they were tolerated. But if they passed beyond a certain grade of criminality they were disowned by the tribe and could make no claim for protection.

The position of a Sachem was not hereditary in strict line of descent, though it was perhaps confined to certain families. Among the Lenape the chief of each sub-tribe was selected by those of the other two. The Sachem of the Unami, the Turtle Chief, was the acknowledged head of the Lenape nation.

William Penn said with regard to these Delaware Indians, "Do not abuse them, but let them have but justice and you win them." The experience of all those who treated them fairly seemed to confirm this sentiment. It was not alone the purchase of their lands which favorably inclined them to the Pennsylvania settlers in the early days, but the evident justice which characterized all the dealings of the whites. To this they responded fully. Even when exasperated by inequitable treatment in later times, they distinguished between the unarmed Quaker, who quietly pursued his labors among them, and the armed frontiersman of other sects. Only three Friends were murdered by them, and these suffered because they became distrustful; one went to a fort, the other two took guns to their fields, where the Indians had seen them many a time before unarmed. The dependence on warlike instruments induced a belief

that they had given up their Quaker connections, and they suffered with the rest. The whole Pennsylvania experience proves that the Indians, degraded in many respects as the whites found them, and still more degraded as they left them, possessed in a high degree the ideas of fidelity to obligations, gratitude for favors, and honorable response to fair treatment.

The missionary Heckewelder says, "William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted the ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees where the little birds in the boughs were warbling their sweet songs. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to the Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance), they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother Mignon (their name for Penn), and there lay all his 'words' or speeches with those of his descendants on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction went successively over the whole. This practice (which I have frequently witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably forever."

General W. H. Harrison says of the Delaware Indians, "A long and intimate knowledge of them in peace and war, as enemies and friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impression of their character for bravery, generosity, and fidelity to their engagements."

Before the traditions of their acquaintance with the whites had disappeared, their story as told to friendly missionaries was most pathetic. They met the "Long Knives" in Virginia, the Dutchmen in New York, and the "Yangees" in New England. In all cases their experience was the same. They gave them land and provisions, but the whites wanted more and more. Land was plenty, and for a long time they granted everything. Then the whites demanded their best sections and took them by force. They protested and finally fought, only to be conquered and retire. They were weak-

ened by rum, decimated by small-pox and other diseases, overcome by craft and guile, and in a century from the time of the first settlement of Virginia the best of their chiefs were mourning over the results which, in the face of a general degradation, they and their people were too weak successfully to resist.

The Delawares cultivated their fields and did not depend on the chase alone. Corn was their principal food, but they also had squashes, beans, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. William Penn, who lived among them a short time, says, "Their diet is maize or Indian corn, divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten, or boiled with water, which they call homine. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have, likewise, several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder."

They made simple vessels of clay, effective but inferior in decorations to those of many savage tribes. They had copper, derived either from the Lake Superior region or from northern New York. The most of their instruments were, however, of stone, and they showed remarkable skill in their manufacture. They made mortars and pestles for pounding their corn, axes for weapons and for wood cutting, while innumerable quartz, jasper, and slate spear- and arrow-heads have been ploughed up by Pennsylvania farmers.

They knew how to extract paints and dyes from various woods and vegetables, while the white, red, and blue clays quarried from the neighborhood of White and Red Clay Creeks in Pennsylvania and Delaware made the country widely known among them as the Place of Paint.

With these paints they became quite skilful in pictographic signs. They wrote history and preserved the tablets, which, unfortunately, were usually on perishable material, though a few engraved stones have been dug up. They recorded on trees the result of a hunt or warlike foray in signs any Indian of their tribe could readily understand. Two instances may be given to show how readily an Indian turned to signs to express his meaning.

In 1701 William Penn asked an Indian interpreter to give him some idea of the national notion of God. Not being able to readily answer this in words, he drew a number of concentric circles, and in the centre placed the "Great Man."

A Shawnee had a horse which was claimed by a white man. The Indian insisted on his ownership, but the other being unwilling to relinquish his claim, the Indian seized a piece of charcoal from the hearth and on the door drew two pictures, which were so vivid that the settler could not fail to understand. One represented the white man taking the horse, the other the Indian scalping the white man. The horse remained the property of the Indian.

They preserved their myths and records on notched, burned, or painted sticks, each mark indicating some particular event or story, which was duly impressed on each generation. Each stick was about six inches long, and they were tied in bundles and placed in the care of a custodian.

Their ideas of property were communistic. Though they sold land, it took them a long time to absorb the white idea of exclusive ownership. They only sold, in their estimation, the privilege to live on it, without diminishing their own claims to hunting and fishing privileges. An Indian placed his horses in the mowing field of the missionary Heckewelder. When remonstrated with, he replied, "Can you make the grass grow? Nobody can except the Great Man. The grass which grows out of the earth is common to all, the game in the woods is common to all. For friendship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in your meadow again."

While liberal to their friends, they were, in the highest degree, vindictive and cruel to their enemies. A belt of black wampum with a red hatchet painted on it was a symbol of war, and war of the most vigorous kind followed. They delighted in a quiet inroad into the heart of the enemy's territory, a sudden and murderous blow when they were supposed to be far away, and as sudden a retreat. They knew no mercy to man, woman, or child.

Their skill in deceiving their enemies, in counteracting their enemy's deceptions, in reading signs unobserved by white men, were remarkable. Their imitations of the cries of wild animals would lure their enemies into an ambush, or be the means of signalling to their friends.

The practice of scalping seems to have been recognized by all Indians. The scalp was the trophy of war. They shaved their head, except the one tuft which furnished to their victor his legitimate reward. The number of scalps secured was a measure of a warrior's bravery, and the first ambition of a young brave was gratified when he could show this proof of his powers. In some colonies the whites offered rewards for scalps, thus recognizing the practice.

Unless prisoners had aggravated their captors by peculiar cruelty on the part of themselves or their people, they were not harshly treated. After an unsuccessful war, or one of especial barbarity, the lot of the prisoner was dreadful indeed; otherwise he was adopted by the tribe or held for ransom. In the midnight raids on villages or lonely settlements, Indian success meant barbarity in its extremest forms; but from this Pennsylvania was preserved for seventy-three years by the wisdom of its government.

The first ordeal of the prisoner was to run to a painted post between two lines of armed warriors. His salvation lay in his promptitude and pluck. Any faltering or falling meant death or severe treatment. But a vigorous, fearless run insured respect and relative immunity from attack. Once at the post, he was safe till his fate was determined in council.

A better side of Indian nature was their absolute respect for the person of an ambassador. No stress of war, nor personal hatred, nor great advantage to be gained, could tempt a tribe to violate the rights of this sacred personage. No civilized countries ever held their international code more inviolably.

SECTION II.

THE DUTCH, SWEDES, AND ENGLISH IN THE DELAWARE VALLEY PRIOR TO 1681.

ON the 28th of August, 1609, Henry Hudson, in the "Half Moon," records: "Then we found the Land to trend away to the North-West with a great Bay and Rivers. But the Bay we found Shoald . . . He that will thoroughly discover this great Bay must have a small Pinnasse that must draw but four or five foote water, to sound before him."

Hudson, though an Englishman, was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and was in search of a northwest passage. He had been driven back by the ice and fogs of the north, had sailed to Virginia, was now coasting northward, and had entered Delaware Bay. He did not deem it worth further exploration, but sailed again northward, and discovered New York Harbor and the river that bears his name.

A doubtful record indicates that Lord Delaware "touched at Delaware Bay on his passage to Virginia," and on the strength of this, fortified by future English possession, his name became permanently associated with the bay and river.

By virtue of Hudson's discovery, the Dutch claimed possession of the North and South Rivers (Hudson and Delaware) and the adjacent country, which they called New Netherland; and in 1621 the West India Company was organized to make settlements and develop trade.

Prior to this, in 1614, Captain Cornelius Jacobson May was sent as the commander of one of five vessels fitted out by another Dutch company to explore the country. He sailed along the Jersey coast, mapping it as he went, until he

reached the southern point, which he named for himself. Across the bay he gave the name of a town of Friesland—Hindlopen—to the prominent cape there. Another of the vessels was burned in Manhattan River, but the enterprising captain built a new craft, the "*Unrust*" ("Restless"), the first vessel of European construction made in America. With this he explored and mapped the Delaware River as far as the present site of Philadelphia.

In 1623 Captain May was again sent out, this time by the Dutch West India Company, to take possession of South River. He sailed up to the site of the present town of Gloucester, on the New Jersey side, four miles below Philadelphia, and erected Fort Nassau, the first European settlement in these regions. The fort was soon abandoned, but shortly afterwards reoccupied by the Dutch from New Amsterdam,* who made it their headquarters for trade with the neighboring Indians.

Another Dutch settlement was attempted in 1630, near Lewes, in Delaware, which they called Swaanendael, but the Indians murdered the entire colony, thirty-two in number.

In the meantime the Dutch at Fort Nassau were impressed with the advantages to be gained by a fort on the river opposite,—the Schuylkill,—to command the beaver trade of that great valley. They constructed Fort Beversrede, and bought of the Indian chiefs "the Schuylkill and adjoining lands," which presumably included the whole of the present city of Philadelphia.†

The Dutch had, therefore, command of the South River. By discovery, or purchase, or settlement, they had secured possession of both sides of the river near the mouth of the Schuylkill, and of both sides of the bay at the capes. Another nation now appeared to contest their supremacy.

The founder of the West India Company was William

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* Afterwards New York.

† There is some doubt about the treaty. It is possibly a fiction put forward by the Dutch at a later date to strengthen their claim to the country.

Usselinx, a Belgian. He became dissatisfied with his position in the company, and in 1624 persuaded Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to issue a charter for a new company for foreign trade. Much was expected of this enterprise for the home country, but the wars in which Gustavus was engaged caused the postponement of any actual expedition till after the death of the king. Chancellor Oxenstiern then took charge of the project, and at last, in December, 1637, two small vessels, filled with Swedes and Finns, set sail for the South River of New Netherland.

The leader of this expedition was Peter Minuit, a Dutchman, who was acquainted with American settlements by his residence of six years in New Amsterdam as Director-General. On the 29th of March, 1638, Minuit purchased from the Indians all the west shore of the Delaware from Bombay Hook, in Delaware, to the river Schuylkill, without any interior limits. This country he named New Sweden, and built a fort where Wilmington now stands. This he called Fort Christina, in honor of his queen. The English in Virginia and the Dutch in New Netherland objected to this settlement as an invasion of their rights, but Minuit went on without heeding the protests.

The little Swedish colony was soon reduced to twenty-three. They kept up a flourishing traffic, but were about to leave for New Amsterdam, supposing themselves deserted by their friends at home, when a Swedish vessel appeared, laden with emigrants. The new governor, Hollender, enlarged his boundaries by purchasing of the Indians the west bank of the river up to Trenton Falls, despite the protests of the Dutch. In the two years following, several other Swedish vessels arrived, and in 1642 a third governor, Johan Printz, was commissioned to carry on the administration of justice, to maintain the Swedish Lutheran religion, to keep a monopoly of the Indian trade, and to defend against all others the country on the west side of the river, from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls, and on the east from Cape May to Mantua Creek, nearly opposite Chester. This constituted the boundaries of New Sweden.

The Dutch and the Swedes were thus competitors for the land and the trade of the Delaware Valley,—the Dutch, by virtue of discovery, and the Swedes, of a larger and better organized colony.

The English objected to being left out of the arrangement. They claimed that to New England on the north and Virginia and Maryland on the south belonged all the intervening territory. In 1635 a company of about a dozen Englishmen from Connecticut sailed up the Delaware River and undertook to capture Fort Nassau. They were captured and sent to Manhattan, where they were given their liberty.

Seven years later another party from Connecticut established itself near the present town of Salem, New Jersey. Still another, the Dutch Council says, "had the audacity to land, in the South River, opposite to our Fort Nassau, where they made a beginning of settling on the Schuylkill, without any commission of a potentate." So the Council resolves "that it is our duty to drive these English from thence in the best manner possible." This they proceeded to do, seizing the beaver skins collected.

During the same summer a pestilence seems to have largely broken up the Dutch settlement, and the remainder of the English being driven out by the Swedes, or required to promise allegiance to them, the latter were for a time left in control of the river.

Governor Printz with some ceremony established himself on the Island of Tinicum, a little below the mouth of the Schuylkill, where he built himself a house and a fort, armed with cannon. He strengthened Fort Christina, built another across the river commanding the channel, which he called Fort Elfsborg, and still another on an island at the mouth of the Schuylkill. His settlers cultivated tobacco, wheat, rye, and barley, but were prevented from establishing a flourishing Indian trade by the neglect of their home company to supply the necessary articles of barter. Their relations with the natives were friendly, and when, in 1644, some whites were killed, the neighboring chiefs denied complicity and made all possible apologies.

There were never more than two hundred or three hundred Swedes in all, and part of these were bond-servants who could not leave the colony. The settlers were loyal to their old country, its religion, language, and customs. "Divine service," says Printz, "is performed here in the good, old Swedish tongue." They were encouraged to attempt to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the true religion. "Adorn your little church after the Swedish fashion in distinction from the Hollanders and English, shunning all leaven of Calvinism." They also endeavored to keep all foreign words out of their Swedish speech, and to give Swedish names to all the geographical features of the country, so as to make New Sweden the counterpart of the mother country.

The English did not trouble the colony, but the Dutch claims could not be put aside, and they had Manhattan Island inconveniently near as a base of supplies. Around the site of Philadelphia there were frequent contests. Printz demolished the Dutch houses erected on the Schuylkill, cut down the trees around their fort, and by his superior numbers and untiring vigor annoyed them greatly. The Dutch were unable to stand this indefinitely. In 1650 their governor, Stuyvesant, brought an expedition from New Amsterdam, too strong to be resisted, built Fort Casimir (New Castle, Delaware), near Fort Christina, and collected toll on all boats going up and down the river, abandoning, however, Fort Nassau, as too far inland.

Printz had become wearied of his heavy and unsupported labors, and sailed in a Dutch ship to England. The soldiers and servants, not happy in the country, deserted at every opportunity. Had it not been for another expedition, despatched in 1654 from Gottenburg, there would soon have been an end of New Sweden. There was no difficulty now in obtaining emigrants. A hundred families had to be left behind. Three hundred and fifty persons, including women and children, sailed by the "Ornen," and on May 18th arrived in Delaware Bay. The new governor, Rising, renewed the treaties with the Indians, by which the land was

conveyed to the Swedes, drove the Dutch from Fort Casimir, and with a colony of three hundred and sixty-eight, "including Hollanders," with large patches of cleared ground, and abundance of fruit, grain, and cattle, felt himself at the head of a prosperous colony.

They had a flourishing mill on Cobb's Creek (in what is now Delaware County), where was "ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late." Their beaver trade and tobacco crops had assumed large dimensions and opened abundant prospects for European commerce. Other emigrants were now willing to start. The fame of the beauty and resources of New Sweden was growing at home, and the Dutch and the English seemed practically excluded from the river.

But this new prosperity constituted the greatest danger. The Dutch had never given up their claims to the river, and now saw that vigorous action was necessary or the country would be hopelessly in the hands of the Swedes. A little fleet conveying six hundred men was assembled in New Amsterdam in August, 1655, and a short two days' voyage placed them in the South River. Fort Elfsborg was found in ruins, Fort Casimir retaken, and Christina threatened into submission. The whole affair was bloodless, the strength of the Dutch being overwhelming. The capitulation which followed embraced the transfer of the sovereignty of New Sweden to the Dutch. The Swedes were to be allowed to remain on the Delaware, and were to be protected in the exercise of their religion, taking oaths of allegiance to Holland and the Dutch West India Company. Those who wished were to be conveyed to Sweden free of expense. These were few in number. New Sweden had become their home, and future immigration, even under Dutch and English supremacy, slightly increased the Swedish population. Their little settlements, mainly on the west side between New Castle and Philadelphia, developed into well-organized, law-abiding communities, quietly tilling their grounds and living in peace with their Indian neighbors. While under Dutch control *they remained Swedish.* Very few others actually settled

among them. For twenty-five years after the Dutch conquest they constituted the majority of the white inhabitants in the Delaware Valley. Their descendants mingled with the English settlers who followed them, and they lost their national identity, giving, however, their names and their traits to the composite population which began to come in about 1682.

Evert Peterson, who came over in 1657, as schoolmaster, reported that there were only twenty families in New Amstel, recently Fort Casimir, mostly Swedes. He soon had a school of twenty-five children, probably the first established on the river.

The Swedes along the river were objects of suspicion. They made the reasonable request to be allowed to remain neutral in the event of any war in which their native country might be engaged, and this was supposed to indicate disaffection to the Dutch rulers. It was intended to deprive them of all official positions, but the inherent difficulties of language were too great. At one time an edict went out to remove all Swedes and Finns to one community, and the southern part of the present city of Philadelphia was selected as the spot. But they refused to go, and means were not at hand to coerce them. Their numerical superiority and their command of the agricultural and commercial resources of the valley made them too powerful to be removed at will. In 1659 there were estimated to be two hundred families of Swedes within the limits of the West India Company's possessions on the river, and a much smaller number of Dutch.

Charles II., restored to the throne of his father, resolved to press his claims to the Dutch possessions of the New World. As a first step, he transferred, in 1664, on paper, the whole of New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York. This included the present States of New York and New Jersey, hitherto undivided. The duke almost immediately, and in advance of possession, conveyed the New Jersey portion to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

It remained to make this paper contract good. Colonel

Nichols set sail from Portsmouth, England, with four vessels and three hundred soldiers, and appeared before New Amsterdam in the latter part of August. Governor Stuyvesant met him with a haughty demand to know his business, but finding resistance unavailing, came down from his lofty position, and entered into conference for a surrender. This was effected without the loss of a man or the firing of a gun. New Amsterdam became New York, in honor of the duke; the country between the Hudson and the Delaware, New Jersey, from the birthplace of Sir George Carteret; and the South River, the Delaware. So they remained, except during a brief recapture by the Dutch in 1673.

The conquerors now turned their attention to the Delaware. Two vessels, under Sir Robert Carr, appeared in October at New Amstel. The Dutch commander and soldiers were more stout-hearted or more imprudent than their New York brethren, and refused to surrender. An attack soon brought them to terms, and a disgraceful plunder by the English soldiers and sailors followed. Three of the Dutch were killed, and ten wounded. This was the first blood shed in all the contentions in the Delaware Valley among the whites. Carr sacked a Mennonite colony, seized upon the lands of the Dutch commanders, and sold the Dutch soldiers into slavery. The English lost nothing, and, as the only account is that of their commander, which attempts to palliate certain features, the conquest was probably rather a massacre and a loot than a fight.

The Swedes apparently came under English control quite willingly, and the capture of New Amstel (now to be called New Castle) practically terminated Dutch rule on the river.

The terms of the transfer were liberal. All persons were to be secure in their estates. All officers were to retain their posts. Liberty of conscience was to be respected. Any one might leave at his option, but all who remained must take an oath of allegiance to the new government, *and then* had all the liberties of English citizens. The

Swedes remained, as did most of the Dutch, and were soon blended with each other and with the English settlers, who now began slowly to come in. They were henceforth governed by officers appointed by the Duke of York. These were to advise with a council, and, as manifest by the names, the first council was not English. It consisted of Hans Block, Israel Helm, Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, and Peter Alricks,—three Swedes and two Dutch. New Castle was the central place of authority, and the fort there was renovated, and garrisoned with twenty-one men. Next in importance was probably Upland, now Chester. There was no representative government, but the laws of the Duke of York were apparently reasonable and satisfactory.

There was little to disturb the quiet and slow progress of the colony for several years to come. A writer says, in 1670, "There are very few inhabitants, and they mostly Swedes, Dutch, and Finns. The people are settled along the west side of the Delaware, sixty miles above New Castle, which is the principal town. The land is good for all sorts of English grain, and wants nothing but people to populate it, being capable of entertaining many hundred families."

In 1673 a Dutch fleet appeared at New York. The fort surrendered and the whole country submitted. The Dutch control was re-established on the Delaware, and Dutch officers appointed. After five months' possession, New Netherland and the Delaware were again ceded to England by a treaty between England and Holland signed at Westminster on February 19, 1675, which decreed the transfer of all territory taken in the war.

These various cessions seem to have made little difference to the Delaware settlers. Both nations allowed liberty of conscience, and both used the same men of prominence in the affairs of State.

During the decade beginning 1670 the population of the west side of the Delaware increased but slowly, if at all. Perhaps some of the Swedes emigrated to Maryland, and

there seemed to have been but little influx. In the last years of the decade there was a slight movement of the English Quakers, who had come in to people New Jersey, across the river, and Robert Wade, who settled in Chester, was perhaps the pioneer Quaker settler of Pennsylvania. His house was the meeting-place of the body from 1675 till the arrival of William Penn in 1682.

To understand this migration we must briefly trace the History of New Jersey from the time of its cession by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

As early as 1665 there were a number of settlements in East New Jersey, around the towns of Shrewsbury, Middletown, and Elizabeth. The latter place was in 1668 the seat of a Colonial Legislature. The province was, however, much distracted by a dispute with the proprietors about rents for land, and but little progress in settlement was making.

The Society of Friends was the object of great persecution in England, and some of its members began to cast their eyes towards America, as the Puritans had done before them, to find a place of refuge. George Fox was interested, not for himself, for there was no intention to convey the whole society over the sea, but for such of his coreligionists as might think it right to escape persecution in this way. A Friend named Josiah Cole, who was often engaged in religious visits to Indians and others in America, had apparently been commissioned in 1660 to negotiate for an inland settlement, and had had interviews on the subject with the Susquehanna Indians. He found difficulties in his way on account of an Indian war then prevailing.

Defeated in this direction, the matter was dropped for a time. But a new opportunity more promising in its character at last opened. Lord Berkeley was an old man, and seeing that American colonies for some time to come would not bring wealth to their owners, expressed himself as willing to sell his half of New Jersey. Though the colony was not as yet divided, his interests were purchased in *1674 by* John Fenwick and Edward Billinge for one thou-

sand pounds. Both were Quakers, and there seems to have been an understanding that the society at large should have the benefit of the purchase, and that the western side of the province should constitute their moiety. Two years later the line was run bisecting the colony from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the Delaware River, in latitude 41°.

But Fenwick and Billinge differed as to their respective interests, and in Quaker fashion referred their dispute to the arbitrament of William Penn, who thus for the first time had his attention drawn to American colonization. He gave one-tenth to Fenwick with a sum of money, and the remainder to Billinge. After some bickering the award was accepted. Billinge then became embarrassed in his finances, and transferred his nine-tenths to three Friends, William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas for the benefit of his creditors.

Fenwick, who appears to have been an energetic, though rather litigious, person, was active in promoting immigration. He brought over in 1675 a boat-load of settlers, and found a pleasant and fertile spot on a creek emptying into the Delaware, to which he gave the name of Salem. From here the same year Robert Wade went across to Upland.

In the meantime, William Penn and his cotrustees were busy improving the estate of Edward Billinge. Some of his creditors, who were Friends, were induced to take tracts of land in extinguishment of their claims. Other tracts were sold outright, subject to future purchase from the Indians, and settlers began to come in. The trustees secured the co-operation of John Eldredge and Edmund Warner, to whom Fenwick had practically sold his share without renouncing in his own eyes the right to buy of the Indians and sell to settlers, and in 1676 organized a government with Richard Hartshorne and two other Friends as commissioners.

Richard Hartshorne was a resident in East New Jersey, but was requested by the trustees to meet the other commissioners at New Castle and select a site for a town higher up the river than John Fenwick had settled. In the letter of instructions to him we find a passage which betrays the

democratic spirit of William Penn. "There we lay a foundation for after-ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people, that is to say, they to meet and choose one honest man for each propriety, who hath subscribed to the concessions; all these men to meet as an assembly, there to make and repeal laws, to choose a governor as a commissioner and twelve assistants to execute the laws during their pleasure; so every man is capable to choose or be chosen. No man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned, or molested in his estate or liberty but by twelve men of the neighborhood. No man to lie in prison for debt, but that his estate satisfy as far as it will, and be set at liberty to work. No person to be called in question or molested for his conscience or for worshipping according to his conscience."

In 1677 a boat-load of emigrants, mostly Quakers, stopped at Sandy Hook to acquaint Governor Andros, the appointee of the Duke of York, of their intentions. For though a clear title had been obtained, they thought it a matter of policy to be assured of his good offices. The governor, after some real or pretended doubt of the propriety of granting liberty without an expressed permission from the duke, and a suggestion that while the soil was granted the government still remained in his hands, and a pompous declaration that he would defend his rights by the sword, offered finally to grant the necessary commission.

Three of the principal Swedes of Upland were induced to become Indian interpreters, and land was bought extending along the east side of the Delaware River, from Oldman's Creek, nearly opposite Wilmington, to Assunpink, above Trenton.

There were two principal companies among the settlers, one composed of Yorkshire people, the other of Londoners. After taking separate sections, the one near Trenton, the other near Gloucester, they agreed to come together at a middle point; and so, late in 1677, the town of Burlington *was settled, and* became for a time the chief place of West

New Jersey. The Yorkshire men took one side of the main street, and the Londoners the other. The Indians were peaceful and helpful, food was abundant, and during the mellow October weather the settlers felt as one of them wrote his friends at home: "The country is so good, I do not see how it can be reasonably found fault with;" urging a large emigration to occupy the vast stretches of fertile land.

Such reports had their effect, and hundreds of Quakers, willing to escape the unreasonable persecution to which they were subjected in England, came to West Jersey. Some settled in Salem, the greater part went to Burlington. Some of these crossed to Pennsylvania, and secured a somewhat doubtful title to land along the west bank of the Delaware by purchase from the Swedes or Indians. Their central positions were at the Falls of the Delaware, Shackamaxon, Upland, New Castle, and Hoarkills. In 1681 a "yearly meeting" was established at Burlington, which embraced all Friends in the present States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. About fourteen hundred Quakers are supposed to have emigrated to New Jersey and Pennsylvania prior to Penn's coming.

While West Jersey was thus rapidly filling up, East Jersey came into the market. That province had not been prosperous, and Sir George Carteret died in 1679, in debt. To pay the debts, the province was sold, and twelve Friends, at the head of whom was William Penn, became the purchasers. Robert Barclay, of Urie, was made governor for life. The stream of Quaker settlement was turned in this direction, and was largely increased by Scots, who were hunted with great cruelty by the Royalists.

SECTION III.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND WILLIAM PENN.

QUAKERISM arose in England in the midst of that seething religious excitement which characterized the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The sects in infinite variety were engaged each in persistent advocacy of its own claims, with a fervor born of a belief that all others were fundamentally wrong and must be converted or destroyed. The Bible was the standard. The King James version had now permeated every corner of England, and men were trying every opinion by the meaning obvious to them of Scriptural passages. One text, for their purpose, was as good as another, Leviticus as obligatory as John, and all were infallible and of universal application, while the prophecies of Daniel and Revelations opened up indefinite opportunities for speculation.

Into the *mêlée* of the religious discussion of the times came, in 1648, a new teaching, largely eclectic, but making such fresh combinations of doctrinal ideas as to produce a result in strong contrast with every religious body already in existence.

George Fox was born twenty-four years before this, of poor but respectable parents, his father being generally called "righteous Christer," and his mother being "of the stock of the martyrs." He was an innocent and thoughtful youth, with a soul longing for peace with God and a knowledge of His will, which he sought in vain among the neighboring clergy of the various denominations. He was a great Bible reader, and, as a shepherd and shoemaker, meditated much concerning Divine things. But the ministers he found to be "miserable comforters, and I saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach to my condition." His

Bible did not seem to give him the desired clue, and all was uncertainty and perplexity till "As I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do, then, oh, then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition'; and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy .... Though I read the Scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see His love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state or can get by history or books." This direct revelation, as he believed it to be, was followed by other "openings," which gradually cleared up his mind to his own satisfaction, guided him in his daily actions and preachings, and supplied him with the body of doctrine on which Quakerism was built.

With intense vigor and undaunted courage he began the delivery of his message. It was hard for the English world to hear it, and yet it was pressed upon them in the "steeple-houses," the streets, the fields, and the dwelling-places of rich and poor, learned and ignorant, clergy and laity. To all it was the same; there was no doubt or question about it, all must hear, whether they wished or not. Opposition could not quell it, nor could power turn it aside. Immediately there sprang up supporters with the same spirit and the same message, and all England rang with the noise and aggressiveness of the new sect.

What, then, were the distinctive doctrines which added so much to the confusion of the already distracted country? It is important for our purpose to consider some of them, for the government of Pennsylvania was largely modified by their influences.

Primarily, Fox and his "Children of Light," * as the early Friends called themselves, placed the principle, to which they believed they owed all their personal illumination, of the direct revelation of God to the individual soul. This was "the light which lighteth every man," "the Christ within," "the Seed of God," "the Holy Spirit," "the Universal and Saving Grace." They must wait and listen for this in mental stillness, with hushed and attentive minds. They must work, and preach, and believe according to Divine teaching. So there would be peace and order wherever there was free course in willing and obedient minds for this infallible and harmonizing spirit.

All worship was communion with God, and all religious work was under Divine guidance, spontaneous and personal. This excluded any formal ordinances, and when confronted with Scripture texts apparently enjoining them, the Friends replied that they were relics of Jewish customs, permitted for a time, but nowhere made perpetually incumbent.

It was "opened" to George Fox "that being bred at Oxford and Cambridge was not enough to fit or qualify men to be ministers of Christ." They nevertheless used educated men, and encouraged education. Thomas Ellwood accepted his post as secretary for John Milton so that he could have his master's aid in the study of Latin. "Nor was I rightly sensible of my loss therein," he says, "until I came among the Quakers. But then I both saw my loss and lamented it, and applied myself with utmost diligence, at all leisure times, to recover it; so false I found that charge to be which in those times was cast as a reproach upon the Quakers that they despised and decried all human learning because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a gospel ministry." But inasmuch as Divine unction was necessary, and education only a subordinate aid, the illiterate preacher with a message was ever exalted above

* The official title afterwards became "The Religious Society of Friends."

the man with merely human learning and eloquence. The homage was paid to the message, and the intellectual or social quality or sex of the instrument whom God had chosen to deliver it was of no consequence. A spiritual democracy, which easily became a social and political democracy, in which men and women were measured solely by the value and validity of their "gifts," was thus established.

All this, of course, was fundamentally opposed to the clerical ascendancy and the ritualism of the Anglican Church and to the predestinarian doctrines which were then largely held by the Presbyterian and allied bodies of the commonwealth. The Quaker called for simplicity and spirituality of worship, the breaking down of the distinctions which exalted the clergy above the laity, and absolute free will in the matter of individual salvation. It taught the worth of the man. Wherever and whatever he was, he had a holy visitant who would, if permitted, educate his conscience, convert his heart, convince his understanding, and guide his life.

Their doctrine of the inner light taught human equality, and soon the sincerity of the gathering company of its believers was put to the test. For with all the sturdy republicanism of the Cromwellians, it was in many respects an obsequious and class-respecting age. Men demanded, and were often accorded, the marks of respect they supposed due to their rank or station. The plural pronoun was to be used to men of certain classes, the singular was good enough for the lower. The wearing of the hat was a sign of station and distinction. Both Charles I. and the regicide judges wore theirs at the trial. But the Quaker recognized no distinctions. "Moreover," says Fox, "when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to say *thee* and *thou* to all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small."

A testimony more vital in its consequences was that against war. "Now the term of my commitment to the

House of Correction being very near out," says Fox, "and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers said they would have none but me. So the keeper of the House of Correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place; and there being offered that preferment as they called it, asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart? I told them I knew from whence all wars did arise, even from the lust, according to James's doctrine, and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion for all wars. But they coveted me to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue. But I told them if that was their love and kindness I trampled it under my feet." After which rather ungracious reply they threw him into the dungeon with thirty felons. His followers brought up many scriptural arguments based on the law of love why wars were unlawful for Christians, but the "covenant of peace," the teaching of God's indwelling spirit, was sufficient for George Fox.

The effect of this teaching was wonderful. Quakerism made great inroads among Cromwell's Ironsides, and as invariably as with the Christians of the third century they threw down their arms and said, "I am a Christian, and therefore cannot fight."

Uncompromising peace was a doctrine hard to maintain in those troubled times, and still harder when held by the men upon whom the responsibilities of government were thrown in Pennsylvania a few years later.

In the matter of oaths they were equally radical. The Sermon on the Mount in their view forbade judicial as well as profane swearing, and inculcated simple, truthful statements, and on them they stood. No laws or penalties or arguments could shake them. The command was absolute, and they never yielded an iota from their position.

Their attitude to government was rather peculiar. They asserted the divine authority of the powers that were whenever they did not interfere with the individual conscience. Thus when cast into jail for some trivial cause the jailors would leave the doors open sure to find, sometimes to their disappointment, every Quaker in place the next morning; and yet the laws requiring an oath or prohibiting religious worship were disobeyed as regularly as the opportunity occurred. There were no Quaker plots against government. One policeman could manage a whole Quaker meeting. Quiet but uncompromising disobedience to every enactment which touched their conscience, perfect obedience to everything else, were the weapons they depended on to secure their rights.

Their labors were not confined to England. The American Colonies were visited by many ministers. Holland and the Rhine provinces were invaded and many converts added. Quaker missionaries suffered in the dungeons of the Inquisition in Malta; they pushed their way into the presence of the Pope, and a lonely woman had a "concern" to speak to the Sultan, which business she accomplished to apparent mutual satisfaction. Those who have only known the quiet, peace-loving Quakers of recent years, can hardly conceive the vigor and determination of their missionary labors, or the fierceness of their literary warfare against their opposers. There were said to be sixty thousand of them in England at the death of George Fox in 1690.

We may now be able to see why it was that the seventeenth century Quakers were so persecuted. They would not pay tithes to support a religion which struck at their conscience. They would not take an oath of allegiance. They would not take off their hats before magistrate, judge, or priest, or even before king or protector. They would not obey any law interfering with the liberty of their worship. They would not even give their persecutors the satisfaction of open resistance, and they could never be caught in any plots or designs against the government. With all this negative opposition, they were aggressively pushing

themselves and their views into every corner of the kingdom. In the streets of London, the dales of Yorkshire, the mines of Cornwall, among the armies of the commonwealth, the students of the universities, the divines of the various denominations, the Quaker preachers were making their converts. They talked very plainly to Oliver Cromwell and Charles II. No iniquity in high place or low did they fail to rebuke. They drew off congregations from their ministers and ministers from their congregations, and were altogether such a ubiquitous, interfering, troublesome people that even the moderate judges found it hard to resist the temptation to send them to jail.

In addition to these causes of suffering, the various peculiarities of the Friends made them a prey to every informer and personal enemy. It was only necessary to get them once into court, on any pretext, when the hat, or the refusal to swear, would be sure to make any further fining or imprisonment quite regular and easy.

So thousands of them were in jail (and horrible places the jails were in England in those days) through the commonwealth, and hundreds died there. Other thousands were reduced to poverty, families were separated, and some of the most sincere and pure-minded of Englishmen were made to endure more than was meted to the worst criminals. When Charles II. came to the throne there was a temporary improvement in their condition. He had promised toleration, and probably wished to secure it, principally on account of the Catholics, but Parliament would not permit, and the good-natured king, who needed money for his own pleasures and plans, could not afford to insist on any unpopular liberality.

In the meantime an effective organization had been created. The practical mind of Fox, in the intervals of his preachings and imprisonments, perhaps aided by the leisure the latter afforded, had worked out a church machinery quite unique in its various details and admirably fitting the doctrines it was intended to conserve. Of course it was democratic, and included women as well as

men. Every adult took part in business deliberations, which were supposed to be conducted under direct Divine guidance. There was no presiding officer, and no votes were taken, but, after a time of quiet discussion, or quietness without discussion, an undoubted decision was reached, which was minuted by a clerk.

The central body was the "Yearly Meeting," composed, at first, of delegates, afterwards, of the full membership, convening in London. The decisions of this body were conclusive on all matters of general concern. The subordinate bodies were the Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings. The Monthly Meeting was the real executive body of the district, so far as the interests of the individual member were concerned. It looked into his conduct, saw that his children were educated, certified to his standing if he removed, recommended him as having received ministerial or other gifts, looked after him in poverty, and disowned him if he became hopelessly reprobate. The duties of civil government in a community of Quakers would be reduced to a minimum.

Things were in this condition when the enterprise of William Penn seemed to open a door of escape from persecution, and an opportunity to try an experiment in Quaker ideas, which might prove their utility and become an example for all nations.

Sir William Penn, the father of the founder, was the Vice-Admiral of Cromwell's fleet, and, like many others, made his peace with Charles II. before the restoration. He was knighted, continued in a naval position, and received large honors and emoluments from his new master. He was able to loan the impecunious king some sixteen thousand pounds, the discharge of which debt was afterwards effected by the transfer of Pennsylvania to his son. He had large influence at court, and designed a brilliant career for his heir and namesake, who was handsome, manly in person, courtly in manners, and accomplished in mind.

William Penn was born in 1644. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, twenty years later. As an under-

graduate he seems to have had a leaning towards Puritanism, and with his fellow-students vigorously attacked enforced attendance upon the high-church services. He also heard a Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, and was somewhat influenced. He was expelled for his recusancy, much to the grief of his ambitious father, who sent him to Paris to divert his mind. This experiment seems to have been largely successful, for when he returned, Pepys says, "he was a modish person grown quite a fine gentleman." Prior to his return he studied for a while at the Protestant Theological School at Saumur, where he acquired that knowledge of patristic literature so evident in his writings.

He was admitted a student of law at Lincoln's Inn in 1665, saw service in the Dutch war, and later served with distinction in the suppression of a mutiny in Ireland. He had, however, never lost sight of the Quakers, and when sent by his father to care for his estates in Ireland, he again heard Thomas Loe, and made the resolve, concerning which he never weakened, to give up his prospects, disappoint his father, and cast in his lot with the persecuted Quakers. He was almost immediately in prison, but his father procured his release and recalled him to London. All the objectionable peculiarities, the "thou" and the "thee" and the uncovered head, were in full possession, and the old admiral who dearly loved his son, and would have been willing to compromise the hat question by the reservation of the king, the Duke of York, and himself, drove him from the house. It was not in Quaker nature to compromise, nor to keep quiet, and the young man rushed into the polemical controversies of the times with the greatest ardor, and soon found himself in the Tower for publishing without a license. There he wrote "No Cross, no Crown," the most celebrated of his works. Noted divines were sent to convert him, and he was told he must recant or remain a prisoner for life. "The Tower," he said, "is the worst argument in the world. My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot." His father, now reconciled to him, procured his release, but about a year later he was arrested

with William Mead under the conventicle act for addressing a meeting in Grace Church Street. The jury brought in a verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Grace Church Street," but refused to add, as the Court desired, "to an unlawful assembly." They were for days deprived of food, drink, and tobacco, and under the spur of Penn's appeals to conserve the rights of Englishmen in the jury-box, finally said, "Not guilty." They were fined and thrown into jail, as was also Penn, on the plea of not taking off his hat.

This was in 1670. For ten years he spent his time in prison, in preaching tours through England and Germany, in writing various expositions of Quaker views, important among which for our purpose was an eloquent, learned, and liberal treatise on Universal Toleration, in interceding at court, where he always possessed great influence, for the release of his Quaker brethren throughout England, and in a vain attempt to secure the election of his friend, the republican Algernon Sidney, to Parliament.

He added a touch of worldly wisdom, polish, eloquence, and courtly prestige to the society with which he had allied himself, and, save George Fox, with whom he was in close sympathy, no one was more conspicuous or more influential in shaping its future. He revised the rude English of Fox's Journal, preached at his funeral, and wrote a sympathetic and discriminating account of his character. The two men were well fitted to work together. The one zealous, deeply thoughtful, supremely wise and far-seeing, utterly fearless, and of tremendous personal power, but crude, uncouth, and uneducated; the other filled with reverence for his leader, and with knowledge, executive power, wealth, and rank to throw into the cause. The two men wrought together to build up their society in England and to shape the Quaker commonwealth in Pennsylvania.

HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

1681–1682.

Charter to William Penn—Name given to Province—Colonel William Markham and Lord Baltimore—Purchases from Indians—Terms to Settlers—Philadelphia—Religious Liberty—Fundamental Constitutions —Charter to the Colony—Laws agreed upon in England.

THE charter of Charles II. to William Penn was dated March 4, 1681. It was largely drawn up by Penn himself, who partly copied from a similar charter granting Maryland to Lord Baltimore. The draught was revised by the Attorney-General and other crown advisers, and its final form was liberal and just to all parties. The power to grant was assumed to involve the power to modify at pleasure and the English government was not restrained in after years, when the charter provisions became in certain particulars inconvenient, from annulling them.

Penn was made absolute owner of the soil, to occupy, sell, or dispose of as he saw fit. The consideration for this princely domain, besides the sixteen thousand pounds of royal indebtedness extinguished, was "two beaver skins to be delivered at our said castle of Windsor on the first day of January of every year, and also the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore" found in the province.

He could also frame the government subject to the consent of the majority of the colonists, and in an emergency, without them. Practically, all details, the kind of people he would sell to, the price to be asked, the amount and kind of political power he would retain for himself and grant to the people, were for the time in his own hands.

The imperfect knowledge of the geography of the country and of the position of the parallels of latitude gave great difficulty in interpreting the grant. The boundaries were given as follows: "On the east by the Delaware river from twelve miles distant north from Newcastle town unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward. . . . . The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude to be computed from the eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle northward and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

The evident intention of the king was to give Penn a tract three degrees in latitude and five in longitude. But the circle about New Castle, which was then supposed to lie on the fortieth parallel, made indefinite trouble, and nearly a century elapsed before the difficulty was finally adjusted. Pennsylvania never got her three degrees of latitude; indeed, she could not, without encroaching on land previously granted to Lord Baltimore.

Penn desired control over the Delaware River to its mouth. Hence he asked the Duke of York, afterwards James II., to give him the territory now constituting the State of Delaware. Sir William Penn on his death-bed had commended his son, the founder, to the care of the duke, and he readily assented. The three lower counties, as they were commonly called, became thus a part of Pennsylvania, and for about twenty years were embraced within its government. After this there was a separate legislature; but the authority of the Penns prevailed over both colonies till the Revolution, and close political bands drew them together.

Within this princely domain Penn was to have, besides the fee of the soil, the free use of all ports, bays, rivers, and waters, and the produce of all mines; he could appoint judges and other officers; he could pardon crimes, except

murder and treason; he could incorporate cities and towns; he could levy duties, reserving such to the king as an act of Parliament might designate; he was captain-general, and could levy troops and make war against pirates and other enemies, but could not hold correspondence with any nation at war with England.

It was decided (and the following two provisions were probably added by the crown officers and contained the germs of much trouble to the colony): (1) that all colonial laws should be transmitted to the Privy Council within five years after their enactment, and if not disapproved within six months after delivery should remain in force; and (2) that the king could impose no tax without consent of the proprietor or assembly, unless *by an act of Parliament of Great Britain.*

Finally, at the urgency of the Bishop of London, a clause was added, permitting a minister of the Church of England to perform his functions whenever twenty of the inhabitants desired it.

The charter of Pennsylvania, being one of the latest framed, was devised to avoid some of the supposed evils of the preceding ones. The control of the English Parliament was more definitely recognized, and hence the disputes which had continually arisen with the colony of Massachusetts were avoided. The coinage of money, the control of navigation, and the right to prohibit Episcopal worship had been assumed by the northern colonies and were now guarded against, while the necessity of a quinquennial reference to England, though sometimes evaded by the repassage of offending laws, was a limitation on provincial freedom which the proprietary government of Maryland did not know. The right of Parliament to tax the colony, though not exercised till towards Revolutionary times, was distinctly asserted. On the whole, the imperial idea was broadly stated; but under this idea almost perfect liberty of action was accorded the proprietor, and he in turn passed it on to the people.

The Privy Council, however, left the name blank, to be

filled by the king, and Penn writes in a private letter,—"This day (5th of 1st mo.—March), my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges by the name of Pennsylvania; a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being as this a pretty, hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for *a head* . . . . (we) called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it and went to the king to have it struck out and altered he said it was past and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as vanity in me and not as respect in the king, as it truly was, to my father whom he often mentions with praise."

The king having issued a proclamation requiring all persons in the province to yield obedience to the new governor and proprietor, William Penn addressed the Swedes and Dutch and the few Quakers that had drifted over from New Jersey:

"My Friends,—I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God in His providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that though I never undertook it before, yet God hath given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the king's choice, for you are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution and has given me His grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably derive for the security and improvement of their own happiness I shall heartily comply with, and in five months resolve, if it pleases God, to see you."

To take possession of his territory, Colonel William Markham was made his deputy. He reached New York on the 21st of June, 1681, and obtained from the government there a legal surrender of Pennsylvania. Then he proceeded to the province and called a council of nine inhabitants to provide for affairs of government; two of these were Swedes and the others were recent English settlers.

His next business was to settle his boundaries with Lord Baltimore. An attack of sickness prevented anything being done in the fall, besides, they had no instrument capable of determining latitude, and Markham desired to send to Colonel Lewis Morris, of New York, for "a sextile of six or seven foot radies." Suspicions that the fortieth parallel was north of New Castle were already existing, but nothing definite was determined till September, 1682, when the "sextile" being produced at Upland, Baltimore was delighted and Markham thunderstruck to ascertain that its latitude was only 39° 47′ 5″, as they determined it.

Baltimore immediately claimed all the country to a line far above Upland. Markham could only point to the king's patent, which said that the province should start twelve miles north of New Castle. Baltimore said he cared nothing for this. His own charter antedated Penn's nearly fifty years, and settled the question; besides, he asked triumphantly how they expected to run the twelve-mile circle around New Castle and strike the fortieth parallel. Markham could only refuse to acknowledge anything, hold his ground, and refer the Marylanders to Penn and the king.

Prior to the final interview with Baltimore, Markham had met a number of Indian "Sachamakers," and as the agent of Penn bought the first piece of land. It included that part of what is now Bucks County lying between Neshaminy Creek and the Delaware River. He gave the Indians a miscellaneous assortment of wampum, blankets, guns, ammunition, garments, combs, pipes, tools, fish-hooks, tobacco, rum, and beer, besides some Dutch money. The Indians were satisfied and never questioned the sale.

Penn was now ready to offer terms to settlers. He issued

a description of the province, pointing out its healthful climate and fertile soil, and the privileges he meant to offer colonists in the way of free institutions. Any one might buy five thousand acres for one hundred pounds, with a yearly quit-rent of one shilling for each hundred acres. Much land was, however, sold for less than this, and if Penn could secure earnest and serious families to emigrate, the means for purchase never seemed to be lacking.

Penn's next step was to send over commissioners to select and lay out a town and treat with the Indians. He instructed them to sound the rivers and creeks emptying into the Delaware River on the west, and especially to examine Upland (Chester) to find a place where large ships could ride close to land, and which would be high and healthy, also one where a navigable stream came down from the country, and there lay out ten thousand acres as a great town. Every purchaser of five thousand acres of his country was to have one hundred acres in the town. He would have every house placed in the middle of a large plot "so there may be grounds on either side for gardens or orchards or fields, that it may be a green country town which will never be burnt and always wholesome."

They were advised to be "tender of offending the Indians," and to buy their land at reasonable figures. His letter to the red men sent by the commissioners was fraternal and tactful, acknowledging the injustice of many whites, but telling them he was coming to live among them and would treat them fairly and kindly.

The commissioners did not think that Upland fulfilled the conditions of a "Capitol Citty" as well as a location about fifteen miles farther north. Here there was a high and wooded bank, the deep water of the Delaware ran close by it, and the river named Schuylkill, by the Dutch, easily navigable, made another water front; there they laid out the city of Philadelphia, or Brotherly Love, "named before thou wast born," as Penn afterwards apostrophized her.

Land in the country and lots in the city were now rapidly selling. The surveyor, Thomas Holme, was as busy as he

could be. He found it impracticable to lay out ten thousand acres in the town as Penn had instructed. He made it twelve hundred and eighty, and so it remained till 1854. Philadelphia, as we know it to-day, is largely due to Thomas Holme and Penn's commissioners. Penn sent over to England a description to the "Free Society of Traders" * in 1683.

The city, as the model shows, "Consists of a large Front Street on each river and a High Street near the middle from river to river of one hundred feet broad, and a Broad Street in the middle of the city of the like breadth. In the center of the city is a square of ten acres; at each angle to build houses for public affairs; there is also in each quarter of the city a square of eight acres, to be for the like uses as Moorfields in London; and eight streets besides the said High Street that run from river to river or from front to front; and twenty streets besides the Broad Street and two Front Streets that run across the city from side to side, all these streets are fifty feet broad."

The city was two miles long from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and one mile broad from Vine Street to South Street (then Cedar). The ten-acre lot in the centre, intended for a "state-house, market-house, school-house, and chief meeting-house for the Quakers," was in the centre of high woods. Dock Creek (now Dock Street) ended in a large pond near the river, and at its mouth was Blue Anchor Tavern. The houses were naturally first erected along the Delaware front, and building began in a lively manner before Penn's arrival.

Penn's public record had been made while a member of a proscribed and persecuted sect. He had spent many years in prison. In common with his fellow-members he had been disfranchised and kept from participation in all public affairs. Naturally he believed in liberty, and his broad

* This was an incorporated company, from which great things were expected in the way of developing the country. There was a capital stock of ten thousand pounds, but for some unknown reason it did not prosper.

comprehension took a larger view than most of his contemporaries. "Liberty" meant to them a liberty for those only who believed as they did. So it was in Old England and in the main in New England. So also it was in Virginia. Roger Williams in Rhode Island saw better, and so did the Calverts, of Maryland, whether from principle or policy. While in England, Penn had preached liberty in its broadest form. The radical republican, Algernon Sidney, was his nearest political friend. He had pledged himself in numerous writings to universal toleration of all religious opinions. He had asserted the most advanced views of civil liberty. But he felt he was ever kicking against the pricks. His beautiful ideals could have no place in a government of Stuarts where favored classes refused grants of liberty, and priests had every temptation to exalt their ecclesiastical exclusiveness. Institutions were fixed, and selfishness was entrenched.

But here was an opportunity beyond the water. If he could find settlers worthy to put his theories in practice, he would give them as nearly as he could an ideal government. "We lay a foundation for after-ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people," he wrote in 1676 when the West Jersey question was before him, and again in 1681 he eloquently and unselfishly says, "For matters of liberty and privilege I propose that which is extraordinary and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country."

He was evidently hampered to some extent by the views, and perhaps the selfish interests, of settlers. He did not wish his colony to be a refuge of paupers or adventurers or criminals, but of sober, well-to-do people of character and standing. He knew the good or harm wrought by the reputation which Pennsylvania would secure at its start, and he was very solicitous to have a large number of men of the right sort take an initial interest in the enterprise. He was ready to consult and modify to suit them, and some of them

were not as wise as he. His cousin, William Markham, the first deputy-governor, speaks about ten years later of Penn's associates who "unless pleased, and granted whatever they wanted, would not have settled his country." In the interest of democracy he advised with Sidney. "I took my pen," he writes him "and immediately altered the terms so as they correspond with thy objection and sense." He also consulted much with Benjamin Furly, a Friend of influence in Holland, on whom he depended to incite the emigration of his countrymen and the dwellers along the Rhine.

The result is the much revised and tangled bundle of manuscripts still in existence leading up to his "Frame of Government," or Constitution as we would call it, which he announced before his departure from England in 1682.

Prior to this he had written out his "Fundamental Constitutions," twenty-four clauses embracing his general ideas of government. They probably represent, nearer than any subsequent document, his own conceptions of a true government, which he afterwards modified to suit the circumstances. First and foremost, as in every effort of Penn's in this direction, was the right of every one to worship according to his conscience, and he pledged himself to secure it. He provides for a yearly assembly elected by small districts, and every law is afterwards to be submitted to a vote of the people,—the referendum as we now call it. The governor can veto within fourteen days. Primogeniture, imprisonment for debt, except in flagrant cases, and capital punishment for felony are abolished. The sale of intoxicating liquors and all demoralizing sports are prohibited, the law of habeas corpus secured, and affirmations are substituted for oaths.

The published frame, though in certain respects weakened as compared with this ideal, is one of the remarkable political documents of the times. Its preamble expresses Penn's notions of government in general terms. From Scripture he derives the idea that government is a Divine ordinance,—"a part of religion itself." "They weakly err that think there is no other use of government than correc-

tion, which is the coarsest part of it; daily experience tells us that the care and regulation of many other affairs more soft and daily necessary make up the greatest part of government." As to the form the government shall assume it is a creature of time and circumstance. "Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion."

But after all, the best frame will not manage itself. "Let men be good and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn." Hence virtue and wisdom, to be gained by the proper education of the youth, are worth more than any elaborate schemes. The great end of all government being "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

Provision was made for a council of seventy-two members to serve for three years, one-third retiring each year, and being ineligible for one year succeeding. In this council the governor should have three votes, but no veto. It should alone have power to originate bills. The governor and council together should constitute the executive power, and by division into committees should practically manage all the affairs of the province.

The assembly for the first year was to consist of all the freemen of the province, after that of two hundred representatives elected annually. To this body all bills originating in the council were to be referred.

It will be seen how completely William Penn had been willing to abrogate his own powers in deference to popular government. His retention of only three votes out of two hundred and seventy-two, his provision for large houses representative of the whole population, with ample powers to change any laws they might find already in existence,

indicate the confidence in popular wisdom with which he started his experiment.

It may be well to anticipate here the trend of the changes in the powers of the legislative body before the final colonial settlement of 1701. Democratic as the plan was, the restriction placed on the assembly in the matter of originating legislation was something that the people with their new-found power would not stand. The council was the central and dominant body in Penn's frame; they reduced it first to a co-ordinate house and then took away all right of legislation, confining this function to their own assembly. The governor was impotent by Penn's arrangement, and the right of veto was granted in 1696. The legislature was too large for the sparse population, and the assembly settled down into a working body of thirty-six members, and the council was reduced first to eighteen and then to about a dozen wise and responsible men who became an advisory board for the governor.

Besides the frame Penn had prepared some general laws which, under the title of "Laws agreed upon in England," he proposed to submit to the first legislature assembled. They defined the word freeman, as mentioned in the frame, as any one who had taken up one hundred acres of land (or if a servant, fifty acres), and every other resident who paid any taxes, and that all such would be entitled to elect or be elected members of council or assembly. They provided for trial by jury, open courts, moderate fees, and even justice; that all prisons should be also workhouses for vagrants, and should be free from fees; that the registration of births, marriages, deaths, and transfers of property should be attended to, and that all children of twelve years and upward should be taught useful trades. Then follow certain characteristic provisions. All reputable people "that profess faith in Jesus Christ" shall be eligible to office. "All persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly

in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship place or ministry whatever."

"According to the good example of the primitive Christians and for the ease of creation every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common daily labor, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their consciences."

Then follow directions to the legislature to prohibit all immorality and crimes, and demoralizing amusements, and a provision that these "laws agreed upon in England" should only be changed by the consent of the governor and six-sevenths of the council and assembly.

In the "concessions" to colonists he exhibited that regard, which in his after life made him famous, for the rights of the Indians. All transactions with them were to be in open market, so that frauds might be detected; injuries to Indians were to be punished as if committed on whites, and joint juries were to pass on disputed questions involving both races. To protect them from irresponsible traders he refused large offers from companies. "I did refuse a great temptation last second day, which was six thousand pounds . . . to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north between Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, paying me two and a half per cent. acknowledgement or rent, but as the Lord gave it to me over all and great opposition . . . I would not abuse his love, nor act unworthy of his providence and so defile what came to me clean."

We have now seen the place which Penn had reached in the development of his theories and practical notions of government when he was ready to set sail for his new possessions. There is no doubt that his regard for his co-religionists, the Quakers, was uppermost in his mind. His heart went out to them as he saw them, honest, truthful men and women, in the vile English jails of the day, and by the thousand reduced to poverty for conscience' sake. He

would make a commonwealth where they might not only live in peace, but have their places in the duties and honors of governmental station. He expected such a large emigration of them as would set their stamp upon the new colony and make it ever after an embodiment of their democratic, peaceful principles. And he doubtless thought that these would so commend themselves to other settlers that the trend to Quakerism would be, as in the recent past, rapid and conclusive.

But he was too large-minded to attempt to make it a Quaker colony and give them exclusive privileges. All that he hoped to secure for his own sect he freely granted to others. "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession; not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account."

An enthusiastic and consistent lover of civil and religious liberty, the possessor of a fine estate, with a frame of government far in advance of anything the world had yet seen, and towards which in certain respects we are still progressing, in the prime of life, with as yet ample means, a gracious and forceful personality, profoundly and sincerely religious, strong at court, and beloved by his people, such was William Penn as, on the 31st day of August, 1682, he set sail from London to take charge of his new responsibilities, with high hopes and a reverent heart.

CHAPTER II.

1682–1684.

William Penn reaches Pennsylvania—First Assembly—Great Law—Growth of Colony—Indian Treaty—Indians and Rum—Witchcraft—Schools—Welsh Settlers—German Settlers—Penn's return to England.

THE ship "Welcome," with William Penn and about seventy emigrants, dropped anchor in front of New Castle on the 27th of October, 1682; thirty good English men and women having died of small-pox on the passage. Here he received the fealty of the people of the lower counties, and two days later he was in Upland, stopping probably at Robert Wade's house. After a little stay he proceeded up the Delaware and landed, tradition says, at the foot of Dock Creek, in front of the Blue Anchor Tavern.

He found plenty to do, and he entered upon his labors with characteristic energy. He was everything to the new colony. Founder, legislator, minister; intellectually and socially easily the chief man, a feudal lord over an immense domain; in no American colony was there such an undisputed leader. While he remained, the force of his presence compelled respect and love. When absent, the virtue of his authority hardly sufficed to restrain faction and enforce peace.

He visited New York and its governor as a mark of respect to his friend the Duke of York, and Baltimore in a vain attempt to straighten the tangled boundary-line. He preached in the semi-weekly meetings of the Quakers, and served his term as member of committees in their work of organization. He attended to the new city rapidly building on the banks of the Delaware. He decided numerous individual claims respecting land and settlers. In addition to the three counties in the lower peninsula (now Delaware) he laid

out three more in Pennsylvania,—Bucks, with boundaries nearly the same as at present; Philadelphia, including besides the city the present county of Montgomery; and Chester, including the territory now embraced within the limits of Chester and Delaware counties. All of these stretched almost indefinitely westward. He was ready for a meeting of the assembly on December 6, when representatives from these six counties were collected to perfect the government.

Not all the freemen assembled according to Penn's plan. Some were too busy clearing ground and building houses. About forty met, however, the names of all of whom we do not know, at Upland, by this time called Chester. These were adjudged to be proper representatives of the counties. By a majority of one Nicholas More was elected speaker. In a private letter Penn explains that lines were drawn on denominational questions, Quaker and non-Quaker. The great influx of Quakers which immediately followed gave them afterwards an overwhelming preponderance. The assembly formally annexed the lower counties, which was a great relief to them, as they apparently had no love for the government of Lord Baltimore; it naturalized the Swedes and other land-owners on a declaration of allegiance to the king of England and obedience to the government of Penn; and then it took into consideration the "Laws agreed upon in England," now submitted to them by the proprietor. The session lasted four days and was thoroughly harmonious. Penn says of it, "The foreigners were naturalized, and all the laws passed that were agreed upon in England, and more fully worded. The assemblymen were there to their great satisfaction, and such an assembly for love, unity, and concord scarcely ever was known in and about outward things in these parts."

The "Great Law," as the modified code was called, was evidently Penn's work, and was probably prepared by him as an amplification of his English efforts. It was largely the basis of the government of colonial Pennsylvania and to it the province was indebted in a good measure for its rapid growth.

Beginning with the pledge of perfect religious liberty to all forms of believers to worship as they chose and to support nothing in which they did not believe, it to some extent narrowed the privileges of electors and office-holders to such as "profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world." Practically this did not exclude any one, as Jews and confessed Atheists probably did not exist in the province. It is notable that Catholics were not excluded from office-holding, and that future limitations of the principles of religious liberty were not according to Penn's ideas, but were forced upon him by English authority.

The property qualification for franchise was continued, but as suffrage was extended to any one paying "Scot and lot to the government," the only ones excluded were indentured servants and vagrants.

It was prohibited "to sell or exchange any rum or brandy or any strong liquors to any Indian within this province." The death penalty was narrowed to murder and treason, practically to the one crime of wilful murder; the prohibitions of the law with minor penalties of fine and imprisonment extended to swearing, stage-plays, bull baitings, cock fightings, lotteries, and "evil sports and games." Duelling was prohibited, and drunkenness was also fined, the fine increasing with the number of offences.

The great law established religious liberty, extended the suffrage, reduced the death penalty to a minimum, secured the people against oppression, simplified all legal processes, and made an attempt to establish a perfectly moral state. When we compare this with the conditions then existing in England where there was only one form of worship legalized, and all others were "dissenting" and liable to persecution, and were allowed but little part in government or in the benefit of charitable or educational institutions, where the death penalty covered scores of minor crimes, where the code was so complex and unequal that few could be sure of justice, and where great and undetermined powers were vested in the crown, which could only be checked by the

most vigorous efforts of a Parliament, itself not fairly representing the people, we can see how blessed was the condition of the embryo state, and how accurately Penn's far-seeing eye had judged the development of the future.

On the 10th of March writs were issued to the counties for a new legislature to meet at Philadelphia, twelve from each county, of which nine were to be for the assembly and three for the council. This legislature enlarged the great law in much detail, levied duties, and went into the matters of trade laws, weights, and adulterations; licenses, houses of correction and detention, and bridges over the "Neshaminee, Schuylkill, and Christeen;" rewards for wolf scalps, and prohibition for three years to kill the young females of domestic animals; and the multiplicity of arrangements made necessary by a young and growing colony.

From two thousand to three thousand emigrants had come into the Delaware in 1682, in twenty-three vessels, a number of them in advance of Penn. The most of them landed at Chester and Philadelphia and sought the tracts of land for which they had previously arranged. While building their houses they dwelt in caves and rude huts supported against great rocks. They suffered somewhat from disease and hardship, but they were not in general poverty-stricken, and they had brought much property from England,—furniture, plate, building materials, tools, and provisions. Fish, deer, turkeys, ducks, and other wild fowl were abundantly supplied at low figures by the Indians, whose friendship was never abused, and was most welcome. They were serious men who knew how to get along with each other in peace, and settle differences with equity. Their religious organizations composed quarrels, fed the poor, educated the children, and reduced the labor of government. The assembly might, except in so far as it was necessary to secure property and provide for the general support of officials and public buildings, wait indefinitely for its criminal and civil law. Matters would not go far astray.

A peculiar Quaker institution was one established in

addition to the regular county courts, the "Peace Makers." These men were to meet monthly, hear all cases of difference, and endeavor to adjust them. They were not bound by strict forms of law, but like arbitrators of the present time could enter into special consideration of equities and arrange amicable settlements. No oaths were required, and inasmuch as the parties in these early times were nearly all Friends none probably were permitted. Instead, some such form of affirmation as is recorded in the court records of New Castle on February 22, 1683, was used,—

"The forme to be used in ye Roome of ye oath for ye Jury as the same was delivered in Cort by ye Honobl William Penn viz.

"You solemnly promise in ye presence of God and this Cort that you will justly try & deliver in yor verdict in all cases depending, that shall be brought before you during this session of Court according to evidence, and ye laws of this government to ye best of yor understanding."

The story of the great treaty with the Indians which more than any other one act has made Penn famous is not as clear in history as would be desirable. Benjamin West has immortalized it on canvas, and Voltaire amidst much eulogy of Penn and Pennsylvania, has said of it that it was the only treaty not ratified by an oath and never broken. The most of the biographers of Penn have placed it in the fall of 1682 shortly after Penn's arrival, and have clothed the surrounding trees with the glory of autumnal foliage. When the "Welcome" reached Philadelphia the most of the leaves had fallen, and as we can account for Penn's actions by his own and others' private letters it does not seem probable that any formal treaty was made with the Indians before the summer of 1683.

On June 23, and again on June 25 and July 14, tracts of land were bought of the Indians. They extended from creek to creek along the Delaware, and the whole of them conveyed to Penn the Indian rights in the soil of southeastern Pennsylvania, embracing the most of the three counties of Bucks, Philadelphia, and Chester. The distance back into

the country was expressed in some such indefinite way, as "to run two days journey with an horse up into the country as said river doth go." This of course was open to fraud, but under William Penn's liberal constructions the Indians were perfectly satisfied. One of these old deeds under his less conscientious successors, as we shall see, made much trouble.

It was not the mere fact of purchase which pleased the Indians. The New England and New York settlers had bought much land of them, though some also was obtained without payment. The Swedes and Dutch had done the same on both sides of the Delaware River. It was unquestionably the politic as well as the honest thing to do. The purchase in Penn's case was done, as it was not in some others, with perfect fairness. There was an open and well understood bargain, of which neither party ever repented. The Indians were not made foolish with drink or deceived by false scales, or mystified by compass bearings. The amount of the purchase material was frequently left to Penn. Thus on June 23, Tamanen (the Tammany of tradition from whom the famous New York club derives its name) sold a tract for "so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking-glasses, blankets, and other goods as the said William Penn shall please to give unto me." No liquor was ever given for land by Penn after he arrived in the country.

Not only was land purchased at these treaties, but they were also used for the enactment of leagues of friendship between the whites and Indians. Penn writes, "I have had occasion to be in council with them upon terms for land and to adjust the terms of trade. . . . When the purchase was agreed great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light."

It seems probable, therefore, that the traditional treaty made under the elm-tree at Shackamaxon (now Kensington), which place is marked by a stone, was an actual fact; and while it was of less consequence in the contemporary mind,

on account of the abundance of such transactions, than it has since become, it is of importance as typifying the fair and wise dealing of Penn with the Indians. The important treaty was probably that of June 23, 1683.

The Indians in subsequent transactions often referred to it. Thus in 1712 one of their chiefs in a speech said,—

"The proprietor, Governor Penn, at his first coming amongst them, made an agreement with them that they should always live as friends and brothers, and be as one body, one heart, one mind, and one eye and ear; that what the one saw the other should see, and what the one heard the other should hear, and that there should be nothing but love and friendship between them and us forever."

And again in 1725 a chief of the Iroquois said,—

"Governor Penn when he came into the province took all the Indians by the hand; he embraced them as his friends and brethren and made a firm league of friendship with them; he bound it as with a chain that was never to be broken; he took none of their lands without paying for them."

This fair treatment preserved friendship with the Indians for seventy-three years and enabled the Quakers to put into operation their peace principles. While the borders of the other colonies were more or less harassed by cruel Indian warfare, Pennsylvania, unarmed and undefended, was enjoying a quiet and lucrative Indian trade and was filling up with settlers at a rapid rate. Peace and liberty and fertile soil were the great arguments which brought in the English of the Quaker counties, the Germans of the central belt, and the Scotch-Irish of the frontiers, in unprecedented numbers.

Another protection which Penn and his friends sought to throw around the natives was freedom from strong drink. The Indian was helpless in its presence. The best of them would often come into treaties and other important transactions in a besotted condition. For it they would barter all their possessions.

In 1679, before Penn's arrival, the Quaker meeting at

Burlington had requested its members to sell no rum to the Indians. The request became general in the five years following throughout Pennsylvania, and was enforced by the judgment of the Yearly Meeting "that it is not consistent with the honor of truth for any that make profession thereof to sell rum or other strong liquors to the Indians." In 1683 the sale was prohibited by a law which was in time made exceedingly stringent. It was impossible, however, effectually to curb the zeal of traders.

The better Indians, however, recognized the honesty of the effort. About 1687 one of them said,—

"The strong liquor was sold us by the Dutch and they are blind; they had no eyes, they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes who continued the sale of the strong liquors to us; they were also blind. . . . Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it. . . . But now there is a people come to live among us that have eyes; they see it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. . . . We must put it down by mutual consent; the cork must be sealed up; it must not leak day nor night, and we give you these four belts of wampum which we would have you lay up safe and keep by you to be witnesses of this agreement."

Penn built this summer (1683) his Letitia house, named for his daughter, which stood on the street now bearing her name, but which has been moved to Fairmount Park. In this house he lived part of the time, and here were the sessions of his council held. This council was the important body of the province. It proposed all laws, heard appeals from the county courts, and was itself a court in serious cases. In February, 1684,* William Penn presiding, it tried a woman on the charge of witchcraft, the only trial of the sort in Pennsylvania. There were the usual charges against

* The years are changed to conform to present custom. In those days, 1683 would extend to what is now March 21, 1684. The Quaker decision to make March the first month still further complicated matters; so that continual care is needed with the old records.

her of bewitching cows, and the testimony is given in full in the Colonial Records.* The trial was very free, every one who knew anything about it, or had heard anything about it, being permitted to testify. The jury of eight Friends brought in a verdict, "Guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in manner and form as she stands indicted." Her friends entered a bond for her good behavior and the matter ended. The disgraceful "Salem craze," which sent a number of so-called witches to the stake in Massachusetts, began in 1692.

Another matter which Penn and his council were interested in establishing was some system of education, and on December, 26, 1683, they "sent for Enoch Flower, an inhabitant of *said town*, who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and employment in England to whom having communicated their minds he embraced it in the following terms: To learn to read English, four shillings by the quarter; to learn to read and write, six shillings by the quarter; to learn to read, write, and cast accounts, eight shillings by the quarter; for boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, washing, lodging, and schooling, ten pounds for one whole year."

Other records soon after propose a series of text-books and a "school of arts and sciences."

About fifty ships with emigrants came into the Delaware during 1683, and the young colony grew rapidly. The settlers had little of the hardship from climate or natives which the New Englanders and Virginians knew, but each family soon found its place and made a home. Besides the English two important streams of immigration began almost at the start, the Welsh and the Germans.

The Welsh, like the English, were mostly Quakers, and perhaps even to a greater extent than the English were sufferers from severe persecution. They had a strong feeling for their native country and wished to reproduce its insti-

* These are the proceedings of the council, and are published in many volumes.

tutions in the new world. They asked and received from Penn a large tract of land, commonly known as the Welsh tract, on the west side of the Schuylkill and extending on both sides of the present Pennsylvania Railroad. Merion, Haverford, and Radnor townships, all Welsh names, were the first settled, and the tide spread over into Goshen, Uwchlan, Gwynned, and the surrounding country. At first they expected to be a little government of their own, a state within a state, where the Welsh language, laws, and customs should prevail. They were much troubled that lots were sold within their tract or "Barony" to others, and were finally told that they must either buy it all themselves or the disposal of portions to non-Welshmen could not be prevented. They pathetically complained to Penn that all they wanted was to remain Welsh, and enjoy for themselves and their children the fellowship of their countrymen at home, and that the gradual influx of foreigners would destroy their national feeling.

Their religious meetings were the sources of government, and in early times we find these ecclesiastical bodies attending to matters like maintaining a ferry over the Schuylkill, and insisting on the necessity of line fences.

Many of the prominent men of the early colony were Welshmen, and their descendants in all generations have been among the leading Pennsylvanians. The Welsh immigration soon ceased, and the settlers at first reluctantly, but afterwards of their own will, became merged with and undistinguishable from the other elements of the population.

The chief Welshman of early times was Thomas Lloyd. He was a graduate of Oxford University, a younger son of a family of means and education. At some sacrifice he had joined Friends, and with his wife and nine children sought freedom in the new colony. Penn soon made ample use of his education and talents, as also did his sect in their church work.

The other stream of non-English immigration was from Germany. Fox and Penn had made a religious visit in 1677

up and down the Rhine and had found there many sympathetic hearers. Some of these joined their society, but others, who had independently embraced doctrines very similar to theirs, retained their old connections. Through the influence of Benjamin Furly, who was an agent for Pennsylvania in Germany by Penn's appointment, they heard of the land devoted to religious freedom and to peace, and buying of Penn some fifteen thousand acres, part of which was located about seven miles north of the new capital of the colony, founded Germantown. The first settlers were Friends, but Mennonites and other allied sects soon followed them, and the great tide of German immigration, which has brought its millions, was thus started. The leader of the first little band was Francis Daniel Pastorius, the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" of Whittier. He came in the same ship with Thomas Lloyd, landing in August, 1683. The two men spent their time on the voyage in Latin conversation, and the composition of verses. Pastorius was a scholar of refinement and some wealth, and among other marks of distinction was a signer and probably originator of the first American petition for the abolition of slavery. This was in 1688. These first German settlers were by trade weavers, and almost immediately they began to raise flax and to weave linen. A paper mill was also established by them on a branch of the Wissahickon.

Lord Baltimore became active in stirring up the boundary dispute, and Penn thought it necessary to return to London to thwart his efforts. His colony was now enjoying prosperity and harmony. Houses for dwellings and the plain Quaker meeting-houses were being rapidly erected. "Our capital town is advanced to one hundred and fifty very tolerable houses for wooden ones, he wrote February 9, 1684. . . . I suppose we may be five hundred farmers strong." The rapid influx of settlers made a continual increase in the value of the most available lots, so that every one felt he was making money. In the twenty-one months of Penn's stay, about ninety ships had brought their emigrants to the colony, conveying perhaps five thousand set-

tlers. The little discomforts of the first winter were easily overcome.

These were the busiest and perhaps the happiest days of Penn's life. Trouble enough was in store for him before the "Holy Experiment," now going on so joyously, should weather the difficulties of the first three decades.

CHAPTER III.

1684–1692.

Thomas Lloyd—Impeachment of More—Disputes—Cave Dwellers—John Blackwell—Alarms of War—Penn in Trouble—Penn to Thomas Lloyd—The Lower Counties—George Keith—Bradford.

PENN sailed from the province in August, 1684, leaving Thomas Lloyd president of the council and the keeper of the great seal. As the council was the executive body of the state, and alone had power to initiate legislation, Lloyd became the practical head of the government, and this position he maintained by his inherent strength, whether in office or out of office, till his death in 1694. The Quakers looked upon him as the chief man of their sect, and he was felt to be the trusted representative of the proprietor.

He, however, failed to carry the weight of Penn himself, and almost immediately disputes arose respecting the relative powers of council and assembly. Penn had done his work well. He had indoctrinated liberty and the absolute power of the people, and the members of the popular branch of the legislature began immediately to chafe over the restrictions imposed upon them. They found in the fact that their assent was necessary to make laws, a convenient means of bringing their enemies to terms. They threatened to allow the colony to go without laws if they could not have their way. These differences were about trifling matters, and Penn and those closest to him thought the assemblymen unjustifiably insistent and foolishly exalted with a sense of their importance. It is probable there was truth in this charge. On the other hand they were in harmony with the instincts of all English legislatures of all times in struggling for complete liberty. The Long Parliament had grievous abuses to abate, and in the same spirit these Pennsylvanians

almost immediately, when the masterful presence of Penn was withdrawn, found in the exaltation of the council a little something of tyranny left. They struck at it in a way which, considering the individual questions involved, was rather ridiculous, but which, continued for nearly a century, maintained in Pennsylvania the essential principles of democracy and honest government. One cannot doubt that had Penn been properly appealed to, he would, after his usual custom, have remedied the evils complained of. Inasmuch, however, as these people were not very careful to provide for the expenses of government, throwing them largely upon him, it is hardly to be wondered at that he regarded them as more concerned with their liberties than with their duties, and was disgusted with their little animosities. "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he wrote, "be not so *governmentish*, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction."

The assembly in 1685 drew up articles of impeachment against Nicholas More, who had previously been their speaker and was now a judge of the provincial court. He was probably arbitrary, but nothing very serious was proven against him, and the council was loath to hear the case. Before anything was done his death ended the matter.

The temper of the times is shown in the following minute of the council. "Then they (men with other business) were ordered to withdraw whilst ye council should debate ye matter, but immediately stepd in Abraham Man and John Blunston (Assemblymen). Abraham Man began thus: Wee are come in ye name of ye free people to know whether you have not forgot yourselves in not bringing Judg More to tryal. The secretary asked him for his petition. Abraham Man made answer that they did not look upon themselves oblged to come by way of petition considering whom they represent: after some sharp repremands from the council they withdrew."

Here we have the assemblymen, swelled with their importance as representatives of a free people, bursting unannounced into the presence of the more dignified council

and demanding that they do their duty. Nothing could better stand as typical of the times.

Another source of disquiet arose from the conduct of the dwellers in the caves along the Delaware. When the settlers reached the country they would dig holes in the river bank and in front erect cabins of branches covered with bark. This would be their habitation and the place of storage of their goods till they had found their allotment and built their house. The most wealthy of the first settlers had these caves. Of course they were soon abandoned by their makers, and were then occupied by loose characters who in various ways had come into the colony. They became the homes of drunkards and a scandal. The council and the grand jury both took a hand in their suppression in 1685. Ultimately the caves were destroyed.

These political and moral disquietudes were magnified by transportation to England. Penn's enemies eagerly seized upon them, and political events at home enabled them to be used to his great disadvantage.

James II., late Duke of York, the friend of Admiral Penn and his son, came on the throne in 1684. William Penn hoped to use his influence with the catholic king to secure toleration for all dissenters. At first he succeeded, but the political necessities of the last member of the unprincipled Stuart line used toleration simply as a piece in his game, and gave it away when it suited him. Penn, however, never ceased to have personal influence at court. As James's unpopularity increased and his enemies grew bolder Penn shared in the odium, and many plots were formed to injure him and his Pennsylvania interests.

It was natural, therefore, that he should desire peace and prosperity and good reports from his colony. It seemed to him that his own friends were playing into the hands of his and their enemies by their petty dissensions. At first, early in 1688, he took the executive power from the whole council and vested it in a committee of five,—Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, Arthur Cook, John Simcock, and John Eckley. Then he arrived at the conclusion that they

needed a stronger hand over them than was accorded by the mild rule of Thomas Lloyd, who, moreover, earnestly requested to be released, and made the rather strange selection of Captain John Blackwell, an old parliamentary soldier, the son-in-law of General Lambert, and, as Penn describes him, "not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man." He writes to Lloyd to bespeak his aid, with the promise, "if he do not please you he shall be set aside."

Blackwell met his council for the first time in December, 1688. He may have been a "grave and sober" man, but the result of his administration of a little less than a year can hardly convince one that he was a "wise" and certainly not a tactful one. Thomas Lloyd was still keeper of the great seal by Penn's appointment, and no bills could become laws without his official act. Whether properly or not it is difficult to determine, he refused either to honor the positive command of the governor to affix the seal or to give it into his custody when absent from the province. The controversy raged so fiercly, that Lloyd, though elected by the people, was refused admission to the council by the act of the governor, who adjourned the meeting whenever he appeared. The same was done in the case of Samuel Richardson, also elected by the people, but who had been turbulent and disrespectful in the meetings, and had openly refused to own Blackwell as governor. Other members declined to attend to business till the excluded representatives were seated. The assembly met and, having no bills to act upon, adjourned without doing business. David Lloyd, a Welsh Quaker lawyer, for a long time refused an order of the governor to produce the records of the court of which he was clerk without the judges' directions, acting, as he said, on the advice of Thomas Lloyd. The old governor commanded and threatened, but the odds were against him, and he only plunged himself deeper and deeper into the mire. As a councilman said, there were two governors, one inside the council chamber and one (T. Lloyd) outside, each with limited powers. It is probable also that sectarian questions came in. The strenuous Quaker partisans were

all on Lloyd's side. The representatives of the lower counties, mostly non-Quakers, generally befriended the governor. Matters came into inextricable confusion until Penn finally ended it by superseding Blackwell. The honest but misplaced soldier, with whom we cannot but sympathize, told the council, no doubt with perfect sincerity, "'Tis a good day. I have given, and I do unfeignedly give God thanks for it (which are not vain words), for to say no worse I was very unequally yoked."

As the choice of Penn had resulted so unfortunately, and as he found himself still unable to return to the province, he concluded to throw the responsibility upon the council. He made two offers: they might make the council to be deputy-governor and choose a president, or they might nominate three or five persons and he would appoint one among them as his deputy. Nothing could be more fair to the people than this alternative offer, for it must be remembered the council was now elected by them. The council chose the former plan and immediately Thomas Lloyd came in again as president.

Penn's instructions given Blackwell or "whom else it may concern" show his tender care that a good government should be had in the colony. After certain matters concerning the manner of passing laws, he advises:

"Be careful that speedy as well as impartial justice be done; virtue in all cherished and vice in all punished.

"That feuds between persuasions or nations or counties be suppressed and extinguished.

"That widows, orphans, and absent may be particularly regarded in their right.

"That magistrates live peaceably and soberly, for I would not endure one loose or litigious person in authority.

"Rule the meek meekly and those that will not be so ruled rule with authority."

The first of many difficulties due to Quaker scruples about warfare occurred during Blackwell's administration. On the first day of November, 1689, he communicated to the council a letter from the English Secretary of State

stating that war with the French was expected, and directing that all the colonies should prepare for it. The council was composed in part of Quakers, and immediately decided differences manifested themselves. The councilmen from the lower counties were not Friends, and had a wholesome fear of the French fleet. They were in favor of establishing a militia and advising the people to arm themselves. In this they were supported by the secretary, William Markham, who said he always kept his own arms prepared. John Simcock, a Quaker preacher, could see "no danger but from the bears and wolves. We are well and in peace and quiet. Let us keep ourselves so." Samuel Carpenter, then laying the foundation for that great business which made him the chief merchant of Philadelphia, said "he was not opposed to any one who wanted to put himself in a posture of defence doing so, but he would not do it himself. The king of England had perfect knowledge of Quakers before Penn got his patent, and he supposed that as in the past, they would suffer rather than do anything, if the issue were forced upon them."

Later the Quaker members practically took the position that they would have nothing to do with it. The deputy-governor had power to make such preparations as he pleased, and he might do it without any advice from them. As John Simcock said, "We can neither offensively or defensively take arms. We would not be understood to tie other's hands; they may do every one what they please. We do not take upon us to hinder any. I do not think the governor need call us together in this matter. We cannot at all question the power of the governor." And Samuel Carpenter added: "We can not vote one way or the other. We say nothing against it, regarding it as a matter of conscience to us. I had rather be ruined than violate my conscience." Before the governor had opportunity to do anything his recall came, and the French danger also disappeared.

In the mean time trouble had been brewing for Penn in England. His friend and patron James II. terminated his

inglorious reign in 1688, and the Prince of Orange came in by invitation of a large number of the nobility and gentry of England. The reign of William and Mary brought with it much for which Penn had contended, notably a certain amount of religious toleration. Dissenters were allowed the free exercise of their religion upon taking oath to support the new government, and a special act allowed Friends to substitute an affirmation for an oath. There was not, however, perfect religious equality. Friends could not hold office nor sit on juries, and various troubles still existed for them in connection with tithes and other ecclesiastical matters. But actual cessation from prison-going was accounted a great privilege. To no man was this enlargement of the liberties of Englishmen due more than to William Penn. His writings had urged it consistently. The example of his Pennsylvania experiment had had its influence, and now having accomplished one of the objects of his return to England, to shield as much as might be his suffering Friends by his influence at court, and the times not being ripe for the Maryland boundary settlement, he hoped to return to Pennsylvania.

He rightly saw that his influence at court would be less under the new reign. He did not hesitate to avow his friendship towards his patron and father's friend, the exiled king, while disclaiming any responsibility for his reprehensible acts. His Quaker nature had kept him from plots, and nothing of a treasonable or even doubtful nature could be justly laid to his charge either before or after the abdication. The excited state of the public mind, however, demanded that the conduct of the friends of the late king should be investigated. He was charged with being a Jacobite and even a Jesuit in disguise.

On the 10th of December, 1688, he was called before the lords of the council, and questioned concerning his attitude to the new *régime*. He said, "He had done nothing but what he could answer before God and all the princes of the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and never acted against either; that

all he ever aimed at in his public endeavors, was no other than what the prince honestly had declared for; that King James was always his friend and his father's friend and in gratitude he was the king's and did ever as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest." He was required to give bail for his future appearance, but as nothing was brought against him when his case came up he was cleared in court.

In 1690 James unfortunately wrote William Penn a letter which fell into the hands of the Government. In this it was plainly intimated that Penn's assistance in the restoration would be valuable. There followed an arrest and a hearing before King William in person. The answer was frank and clear. Penn again acknowledged his friendship and gratitude, disavowed any responsibility for the letter, or any intention to aid in the restoration, asserting that obedience to existing powers was one of the cardinal articles of his faith. The king apparently believed him and would have discharged him, but to please some of his council he was held under bail to appear at court. Again he was honorably discharged and resumed his preparations to go to America.

The king in the summer of 1690 went to Ireland to subdue the rebellion under James, and Queen Mary, fearing that his absence might encourage the Jacobites of London to rise, ordered the arrest of eighteen noblemen and others supposed to be disaffected, and among them William Penn. Again he was tried, again discharged, and again began to prepare for his trip to Pennsylvania. He expected to take with him a colony of perhaps five hundred families.

George Fox died on January 13, 1690. Penn preached to an immense concourse at his funeral, and only by accident escaped another arrest. The officers came too late.

He learned that one William Fuller, whom the Parliament afterwards pronounced a "cheat," had again accused him of treasonable intentions in connection with the old king. He might probably have left for Pennsylvania, for the authorities seemed quite careless about effecting his

arrest, but that might appear something like a confession of guilt. To subject himself in court to the chances of conviction on the oath of a knave was an unpleasant prospect, besides, there seemed no end of these arrests and charges. He was pretty well satisfied that the king and those who knew him best were not suspicious of his actions. He therefore sent off the boats to America, hired lodgings in London, and lived in nominal concealment.

The authorities could not have been very anxious to find him. His friends knew where he was and frequently visited him. John Locke called to discuss state constitutions, and Dr. Tillotson, matters of theology. Epistles issued from his place of voluntary confinement, which lasted nearly three years, to his friends in England and America in great numbers.

In the mean time the usual amount of friction had existed in the province. The authorities there were slow to proclaim William and Mary without direct advice from William Penn; nevertheless, being strong Protestants, they were anxious the advice should come. Apparently, however, finding that most of the other colonies had preceded them, they took upon themselves the liberty to act, and at the same time reacknowledged their allegiance to the proprietor. Under the benign leadership of President Lloyd, in whom the Pennsylvanians seemed to repose perfect confidence, and whose adherence to place at some sacrifice was evidently induced by considerations of public good, a temporary substitute seemed to be found for the proprietor himself.

The lower counties had come into the compact with Pennsylvania with great eagerness in 1682, as an alternative to the rule of Maryland. Denominational interests were, however, diverse. They did not take kindly to the Quaker ascendency of the northern counties, and they saw a prospect of being soon placed in an inconspicuous minority. Lloyd objected to members sent by them to the council on account of profanity and other immorality. Finally, in May, 1690, in order to propitiate them, the council and assembly held their regular meetings at New Castle. But

the lower counties, or "The Territories" as they were commonly called, being still unhappy, Penn reluctantly consented to a division of his authority by making Lloyd his deputy for the province, and Markham for the territories. A rumored French war being held up as a bugbear, Markham, who was in hearty sympathy with the non-Quakers in matters of military defence, found himself in more congenial society than among the Friends of the province.

Another controversy which had its political bearings now arose within the society of Friends. George Keith had been a minister in good standing among them. He had travelled with Fox and Penn in acceptable labors, and had, like all his prominent coworkers, suffered greatly and with fortitude and patience. He was a scholar of some pretensions, who had emigrated first to New Jersey, but who had in the summer of 1689 been brought over to teach the "Public School" just established in Philadelphia. After about a year of work he began to make himself conspicuous by attacking the doctrines and practices of the Philadelphia Friends. He told them that they exalted the Holy Spirit at the expense of the Bible, and was offended when their discipline was not changed to suit his views. He charged them with inconsistency in applying the penal law by force, and when a captain with his crew stole a small vessel and committed robberies up and down the Delaware, and was finally arrested, "without gun, sword or spear," Keith inveighed loudly against the unchristian conduct displayed in the arrest. He demanded that all true Quakers should resign their magistracies. Being a man of much eloquence, he drew to himself a large number of followers among the Friends. The few who were not sympathetic with Quaker rule looked with joy on these differences, and encouraged Keith. But the great body of Friends found their views expressed in a paper signed by Thomas Lloyd and twenty-seven other ministers, reciting Keith's irregularities and disclaiming membership with him. The Yearly Meeting of 1692, that year held at Burlington, issued its "testimony" against him, and this was finally confirmed in May, 1694, by

the ecclesiastical court of last appeal, the Yearly Meeting of London.

Other unpleasant questions had arisen. William Bradford had come into the province in 1689 as its first printer. The printing-press was then an adjunct of the government, and when Bradford printed a reply to the testimony against Keith attacking the character of the magistrates and councillors of the province he was arrested on the charge of malicious libel. The trial which followed, in which the jury was permitted to decide whether the pamphlet was in itself seditious, as well as to Bradford's connection with it, is the basis of the freedom of the press as we enjoy it in America. The jury disagreed and the case never came up again.

Prior to the trial Bradford refused to give bail, and was nominally placed in jail. He was, however, allowed to go to his home when it suited him, and desiring to appear as a martyr and address a letter from a "prison cell" he was disconcerted to find himself locked out of the jail and the sheriff absent, so that the paper was signed "in the entry or porch." The mildness of the "persecution," as Keith liked to call it, was very evident to all who knew the circumstances.

The followers of Keith set up separate meetings in Philadelphia and some other places. But when their leader, repudiated by London Friends, appeared again among them as an ordained Episcopal minister, striving to bring them back to the fold which he had spent his life in opposing, many of them were willing to rejoin their old Friends. As a religious body they soon disappeared, some becoming Episcopalians and some Baptists. Their influence politically for a decade or more was cast against Penn and his friends with not a little bitterness.

The enemies of the proprietor were now in power in London, and he himself in seclusion. They did not cease to press upon the government the existence of confusion in the province. As a matter of fact, nearly all of the people were quietly engaged in their labors, and only

the rulers were differing. But the disaffection of the territories, the Keithian controversy, and the trials which were widely heralded as departures from the principles of toleration and beginnings of the persecution of all but Quakers, the failure to make any provision for the armed defence of the province, these all, magnified and distorted, were held up to king and council as indicating a condition of turbulence and anarchy which would make Pennsylvania an easy prey to the French. So in 1692 the governorship was taken away from Penn and given to Benjamin Fletcher, then also Governor of New York.

Penn's trials were indeed severe. He was in close retirement to avoid arrest and imprisonment; he was maligned and slandered by men who had lately been but too glad to use his influence with the crown; by many he was held to be a Jesuit; financially he was approaching ruin by his great expenditures for his province, which hitherto had neglected even to pay the quit-rents owing him, and which allowed him to bear many of the expenses of the state; the province itself, the holy experiment to which he had given so much of thought and energy, was now removed from him; his wife, too, died about this time. Save for an approving conscience and the sympathy of his friends, there was little to cheer him. But he kept a brave heart and urged his coadjutors across the sea to work on in the lines he had laid down.

CHAPTER IV.

1692–1701.

Governor Fletcher—War Disputes—Penn Restored—Charter of 1796—Markham and Privateers—Penn's Second Visit—Charter of 1701—Philadelphia Chartered—Character of Government—Separation of Lower Counties—Penn and the Fords—Penn in Prison—The Maryland Boundary Line.

FLETCHER reached Philadelphia early in 1693, and soon made it manifest that he cared little for the charter and institutions of Penn. Lloyd gave up the government to him without much demur, for which Penn was at first disposed to blame him. The council made a formal request that in calling an assembly he would be governed by the old laws, but he decided to make radical changes on his own authority. He ignored the difference between province and territories, and summoned them all to send representatives to meet him in Philadelphia. He reduced the number of legislators and changed the time of the election. While the most of the Quakers hitherto prominent refused to accept commissions from him as magistrates or members of his council, they complied with the new conditions and allowed themselves to be elected assemblymen. Six of the twenty assemblymen took oaths of allegiance, the others, by Fletcher's special grace, he said, were affirmed.

The council was shorn of the exclusive power of originating bills, a power which it practically never regained. It was made up of churchmen and followers of Keith, and evidently was out of touch with the mass of the people, though Markham, who stood well with every one, was made lieutenant-governor in Governor Fletcher's absence.

The first request the governor made of the assembly was for aid to assist New York in a troublesome war that province had on hand against the French of Canada and their

Indian allies. He seems to have anticipated trouble in securing the appropriation from a Quaker assembly, and so he told them, "If there be any among you that scruple the giving of money to support war there are a great many other charges in that government for the support thereof as officers' salaries, and other charges; your money shall be converted to these uses and shall not be dipt in blood." Then he further argued that what he wanted was based on the same principles which induced them to place walls around their orchards, or locks on their doors, or mastiffs in their yards. The answer of the assembly was a request that their old laws be confirmed to them. Fletcher replied that his commission superseded every prior authority. "These laws and that model of government is dissolved and at an end. The king's power and Mr. Penn's must not come in the scales together." Again he urged them to vote the money he wanted.

They replied by a new request to confirm the old laws, which he declined, saying many of them were contrary to the laws of England, and instanced several, the reduction of penalties for serious offences, and the Quaker method of marriages. However, after a formal presentation of the laws to him and some sparring between them as to the correctness of the enrolment, and as to whether the great seal was a necessity or only an ornament, also whether such of the laws as were five years old had according to the charter been formally submitted to the Board of Trade of London, probably convinced that they were in the main right, he yielded the point and confirmed the "Great Law" and its additions. The house then sent up a number of minor bills which it desired to be made into laws. The governor signed some and objected to others. He insisted that burglary should be made a capital offence, that officials should not be incapacitated for serving from drunkenness, "drinking a cup perhaps too much." But the supply bill came in time, and the governor dissolved the assembly and went back to New York.

A year later the war question came to the front with a

new assembly, of which David Lloyd was speaker. The governor asked them to levy a tax to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked;" that is, to assist in buying the Five Nations away from the French. The assembly offered to raise the money, and after giving two hundred pounds each to the former Deputy-Governors Lloyd and Markham for past services, suggested that the remainder of the levy should go to the Indians as proposed. To this the governor objected, intimating that they had no right to determine the disposition of the money, but that after it was raised it belonged to the queen, that is, himself and the council. In the midst of the confusion the house was adjourned.

The administration of Fletcher, lasting nearly two years, was greatly dreaded by the friends of liberty. They, however, lost nothing. The assembly firmly held its ground in all essential respects, and managed to secure the right to prorogue itself and to confirm itself in the practice of originating bills. Fletcher had more finesse than Blackwell, and came out of the contest with some degree of personal credit. He knew when to yield. Perhaps he did not care much about Pennsylvania, and foresaw that his rule there would be brief.

In the latter part of 1693, three English lords, friends of Penn, went to the king and represented his case "As not only hard but oppressive; that there was nothing against him but what imposters or those that were fled or that had since their pardon, refused to verify (and asked William Penn pardon for saying what they did), alleged against him; that they (the said lords) had long known William Penn, some of them thirty years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and that if it was not for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the government, he would have done it two years ago."

The king replied that "William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs; that he might follow his business as freely as ever and that he had nothing to say to him."

As to his resumption of government we have the minutes

of the Board of Trade and Plantations to guide us. On July 13, 1694, there is a report from the attorney- and solicitor-generals going over the circumstances of the original grant, and stating that "the right of government doth belong to the petitioner and Mr Penn, attending. . . . Says that, if her majesty will be graciously pleased to restore him to his propriety according to the grants, he intends with all convenient speed to repair thither and take care of the government and provide for the safety and security thereof all that in him lies. And to that end he will carefully transmit to the council and assembly there all such orders as shall be given by her majesty in that behalf; and he doubts not but that they will at all times dutifully comply with and yield obedience thereunto and to all such orders and directions as their majesties shall from time to time think fit to send for the supplying such quota of men or the defraying their part of such charges as their majesties shall think necessary for the safety and preservation of her majesty's dominions in that part of America." He also agreed to appoint the deputy-governor, who was now serving under Colonel Fletcher.

The part of this promise which refers to Penn's willingness to "transmit" orders for troops or money supplies to the council and asssembly was easily fulfilled. It was rather perilous, however, to intimate that these Quaker bodies would do anything in such a case.

There was evidently great distrust of the Quakers. The same board had recently adopted a minute: "Their lordships taking notice of the great increase of Quakers in Pennsylvania and all the plantations in America and the little help they contribute to the defence of their majesty's dominions in those parts to the endangering the defection of some of these plantations to the crown, their lordships agree to represent the same to his majesty in council."

While there is no reason to doubt that Penn shared the Quaker views on war, indeed while he had announced them most clearly and effectively, he yet held to the duty of the vigorous enforcement of law, and was willing wherever a

line could be drawn between war and police duty to support the civil authority of the state. His promise, therefore, was simply a pledge to the lords of the council that his colony was abundantly loyal.

So the long period of suspicion and trial was over and William Penn, restored to his government, immediately became a man of influence at court and in society. In August, 1694, he sent a commission to Markham, constituting him deputy, for Thomas Lloyd was dead, and the ever-useful cousin seemed the most available choice. He was to be guided by the advice of two assistants, Samuel Carpenter and John Goodson.

Markham had the usual difficulty with the assembly. Fletcher again asked aid to feed the Albany Indians, and the assembly was willing to grant it if coupled with certain concessions. Markham, who was anxious to make good Penn's promises, postponed the difficulty by dissolving them, but they met again the next year, 1696, more determined than ever. They now demanded a new constitution, and the lieutenant weakly or wisely yielded. For this they granted the supply.

By this constitution which, as compared with Penn's previous "Frames," was an extension of democracy, the council was to consist of two members from each of the six counties, elected biennially, and the assembly of four elected annually. The latter had now secured to it in unquestionable form the right to originate bills, to sit on its own adjournments, and to be indissoluble by the governor. Under the "Markham Frame" the province prospered till the final colonial adjustment in 1701. Penn never formally sanctioned it, but never questioned it. The people had practically all they wanted, and settled down for a few years to real political quiet. The Keith controversy was subsiding, the territories ceased for a brief time to complain, no wars seriously disturbed the serenity, and Markham's yielding disposition and thorough acquaintance with all the elements of the problem which confronted him made the machinery of government run easily.

Some internal troubles manifested themselves in the growing colony. The assembly reminded Markham in 1696 that "this province had not been at first populated under William Penn's government with transported felons or criminals, but mostly the people called Quakers, men of truth and sobriety having visible estates and credit in the world." Nevertheless, the felons and criminals came in, some being perhaps banished from other colonies. Some thought the non-resistant Quakers might be an easy prey, and were encouraged by the lightness of the penalties meted out for crime. Privateers also, greatly encouraged by the glory and wealth gained by the buccaneers of the West Indies, sought refuge in the Delaware. They attacked and robbed the town of Lewes and were the terror of the river inhabitants. The province was reported in England as secretly supporting them and as living on the wages of crime, and its enemies, of which there always seemed to be plenty, made the most of their opportunity.

Penn was brought before the board of trade to explain the delinquencies of his colonists. Fletcher went to England to defend himself from the charge of profiting by the pirates in New York. Markham appears to have been also charged, though without proof, so far as is now known; Penn offered to remove him, though he said he doubted his guilt. He admitted that Markham was not his first choice for deputy, "but was put upon him" by Fletcher. He was finally ordered, in 1699, to depose Markham, which order he obeyed by sailing to Pennsylvania and himself assuming the government.

He brought with him his new wife, Hannah Callowhill, and landed in Philadelphia just when the city was recovering from its first attack of yellow fever, a disease which for more than a century after made frequent ravages among the inhabitants. With him came James Logan, an Irishman, of Scotch parentage, as his secretary. Logan was a commanding figure in all Pennsylvania affairs for half a century. He was successively secretary and agent of the Penn family, commissioner of property, chief justice of the province,

and for two years acting governor. During the most of the time he was a member of the governor's council. He was a man of perfect integrity and courtly grace, a Friend, but a believer in defensive war, sometimes becoming heated in partisan controversy, but, especially in later life, greatly respected for his learning, character, and ability.

Penn had come to America with all preparations made to stay. He immediately set to work to prepare, in munificent style, his country-place at Pennsbury, above Bristol, for a permanent residence. He soon called the assembly together and had them pass laws against piracy and illegal trade, to purge his government of evil report. Then the question came up, which of the various charters was in operation. Penn seemed inclined to think it best to go back to the conditions that existed before the time of Fletcher, but the assembly had had a taste of authority and liked it well, and the council, partly composed of the same members, and also elected by the people, sympathized with them. Penn generously said to them on April 1, 1700, "Friends, if in the Constitution by Charter there be any thing that jars alter it; if you want a law for this or that prepare it. I advise you not to trifle with government. I wish there were no need of any, but since crimes prevail government is made necessary by man's degeneration. It's not an end but a means: he that thinks it an end aims at profit to make a trade on't. . . . I desire to see mine no other than in the public prosperity." The abundance of laws on all sorts of subjects passed by the house and signed by Penn indicate that they took him at his word.

Penn had now the opportunity to fulfil the pledge made in 1694 to transmit to council and assembly the commands of the king relative to military aid. His majesty wrote to him demanding £350 for the purpose of erecting forts on the New York frontier. He promptly called the assembly together and gave them the letter, and in a little speech apologized for the extra session. The house was evidently embarrassed. They desired any help from their proprietary, who was also their minister and adviser, which he would

give, and asked for a written copy of his speech. He gave it them, suggesting, at the same time, that for their purposes it was only the king's letter and practically declining any responsibility in the case. In time two reports came from the assembly. One from the Pennsylvania assemblymen spoke of the heavy expenses of the infant colony, the arrears of quit-rent, the poor system of taxation and the neglect of neighboring colonies to do anything, and postponed further consideration to a subsequent assembly. They desired the proprietary to explain their circumstances to the king and assure him of their willingness to aid, "so far as our religious persuasions shall permit." The Delaware representatives excused themselves on account of their own defenceless state. Penn faithfully reminded the next assembly of the subject, but nothing was done.

The all important question was that of the frame of government and fundamental laws for the future. A movement having been started in England to forfeit all the proprietorships in America, it seemed to Penn, though much against his wishes, necessary for him to return. He therefore suggested to the assembly that it was for his and the country's interest to have these matters permanently adjusted, and asked them to make to him such recommendations as occurred to them. They sent in reply twenty-one demands relating to land and other property, several of them touching Penn's own private estate, which they asked to have confirmed to them. He felt some disdain that they seemed to care so little about what were to him the more vital questions of civil and religious liberty, and told them so. Upon which one of them replied they had enough privileges for Englishmen. In the comprehension of the principles underlying free government Penn was in advance of the most enlightened of his associates, and had almost to force on them the liberties which made America what it is. He gave them almost all they asked for and a new charter.

This brief constitution stood the test of use for seventy-five years, and was the basis of the laws and institutions

and development of colonial Pennsylvania, becoming finally an almost revered instrument.

The first clause, as in all Penn's charters, related to religious liberty. On this subject Penn was an enthusiast. He had placed it in the forefront of his fundamental constitutions, making practically no restriction on office-holding. Fletcher required all office-holders to subscribe to the English Toleration Act of 1688, broad for England, but behind Penn's conception of ideal liberty. Markham continued the test, and Penn, just out of confinement, felt himself hardly strong enough to resist. Now, however, when he was just leaving the country he hoped to place the principle where it would be out of reach of any reactionist, and he wrote, "I do hereby grant and declare that no person or persons inhabiting in this province or territories who shall confess or acknowledge one almighty God, the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or their person or estate because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry contrary to his or their mind or to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion. And that all persons who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions and practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve this government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising when lawfully required allegiance to the King as Sovereign and fidelity to the Proprietor and Governor," etc.

This would allow all religions to exist on terms of perfect equality, and all Christians to hold office. The English Toleration Act excluded Catholics, and scarcely was Penn back in England, when, in spite of his charter, which empowered him to make such a pledge, an order of the crown required all colonies to enforce this act. Penn could only submit, but was indignant that all the Pennsylvania officials

subscribed to the new test without demur. "Why should you obey?" he asked. But the response was not satisfactory. Logan wrote, "Be pleased not to set such a value as thou dost upon the Charter (of 1701), for most are of opinion that it is not worth so many pence, and if mine were asked I would rate it still lower." The assembly in 1705 practically re-enacted the restricted test, and so it stood, in spite of the charter, excluding Catholics, Jews, and unbelievers from all offices, till the Revolution.

The second clause provided for the election of an assembly of four (or more) from each county yearly "upon the first day of October forever." They had power to decide the qualifications of their own members, elect their own speaker, adjourn, appoint committees, "and all other powers and privileges of an assembly according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England." This made an absolutely independent legislature, with full powers. It will be observed that the council, which at first could alone originate legislation, and which afterwards became a co-ordinate body, is not given any legislative power at all. What its function was will be noted further on.

The third clause provides that for the offices of sheriff, coroner, and county clerk, two or three candidates shall be elected by the people, among whom the governor shall choose.

The fourth clause relates to the form of the laws and their proper record.

The fifth secures the rights of criminals.

The sixth deprives the council of the right to hear questions of dispute about property, except on appeal from the courts of justice.

The seventh requires that all tavern-keepers shall be recommended by a county judge before appointment.

The eighth protects the property of suicides, forbids any law contravening this charter, and pledges the proprietor and his heirs to observe "inviolably forever" the first clause relating to liberty of conscience.

The ninth, and last, solemnly declared that himself, heirs,

and assigns should never violate this charter, and if done it should be of no effect.

These were the provisions which Penn, after twenty years' experience in constitution-making and practical government, decided to be the few necessary foundation-principles of administration. How happily they were adapted to the situation of Pennsylvania the prosperity of the following three-quarters of a century testified.

Philadelphia also received its charter, and Edward Shippen, a Friend of wealth and education, driven out of Boston by its intolerance, became the first mayor under it. Quite recently an older charter, dated 1691, has been found. This was apparently operative for a brief time only, and Humphrey Morrey was mayor. It, perhaps, expired when Fletcher came.

In this connection it may be well briefly to recite the form of government into which the struggles of the first score of years had led the colonists.

The king, of course, was supreme; but by the charter William Penn was granted large powers as governor, as well as proprietor. When in the country, Penn or his heir exercised the duties of the governorship, one of which was to place an irrevocable veto on all bills passed by the assembly, of which he disapproved. When abroad, he and his sons deputized some one to do it for them, giving him general instructions under which he vetoed or approved bills according to his judgment. The council, which now ceased to be elective, was selected by the governor or deputy. Shorn of all legislative functions it became an advisory board to the governor, under some circumstances a court of last resort on appeals from the county judges, and also possessed executive duties. In the main, it contained the strongest and most influential men of the colony, and was a dignified and important body. When at its best it acted as a composer of the differences between governor and assembly. The assembly was truly the popular house, with full powers of legislation. While the governor had a veto, the house had so many resources to force his assent that it seldom

failed to gain what it wanted. Elected yearly by the people by a suffrage which extended to nearly every one but servants and vagrants, but which many did not exercise, the assembly reflected the popular will. It could not be prorogued or dissolved by the governor, and did not need his call to bring it into existence. The money question was in its hands, and this made it the real ruler of the colony. The Quakers constituted a large majority, and frequently filled every seat.

The judges were not elective but held their appointments from the governor, while the other county officers were also chosen by the governor from two or three elected by the people. There was no militia, except voluntary companies; no forts or guns, but little martial spirit, and, so long as the Indians were well treated, no occasion to exercise it. The colony was a well-governed, freedom-loving, conservative, peaceful democracy.

Almost the last act of the proprietary was to consent to the separation of the province and territory, though both remained under his government. The union at this time was not popular with either. Interests were diverse, and the southern counties were greatly jealous of the rapid growth of their northern neighbors. Penn finally told them, though against his will, that they might go if they decidedly preferred it, "but it must be upon amicable terms and a good understanding." This they took advantage of a year later, and Delaware and Pennsylvania became finally separate provinces; though even as late as the Revolution there was more than the usual intercourse between them, and their prominent men held office in both.

But Penn judged that his province needed him more in London than in Pennsylvania, and late in 1701 he sadly bade farewell to Pennsylvania, as he hoped, for a short time only, but as it proved, forever.

In the two years of his stay he had retrieved the reputation of the colony for orderly conduct, composed, at least temporarily, its factions, arranged an amicable separation of the upper and lower counties, incorporated its capital

city, and given it a dignified and reputable charter. He had visited most of the Quaker meetings and preached in them; had entertained both his white and red friends most hospitably at Pennsbury; had confirmed the peace with the Indians and secured titles from them for more land; had attended to innumerable details about sales of land, building of roads, bridges, jails, and other public edifices; had rechartered his public school; and had infused into the life of the colony something of his gracious, liberal, broad-minded, and sincerely religious spirit. His declining years would have been happier and the province would have been spared some petty, but to the participants, serious, difficulties could he have remained within it.

In order to understand fairly the relation of Penn to his province, and his future actions, it is necessary to consider briefly his private business affairs. He had inherited a large estate, consisting mainly of property in Ireland, but on account of wars the income from this source became very much reduced. Pennsylvania was immensely expensive. He testified before the Board of Trade on January 18, 1711, that his first expedition cost him £10,000; the land purchased from the Indians cost him £3000 to £4000; his second visit cost him £5000, and that altogether he was out of pocket about £50,000. This afterwards proved to be too small an estimate. He had to pay the salaries of deputy-governor, attorney-general, and chief justice, and the expenses of defending his rights at court were not slight. A dishonest steward cheated him out of thousands of pounds. He could not collect his quit-rents. Many of the people considered them a sort of feudal tax which they ought not to pay. Others, while having plenty of food and other necessaries of life, had no money and could not pay. In a little time the machinery of the courts—and in the case of the Quakers, the meetings—and the increasing wealth of the country brought in a handsome revenue from this source, but in the first quarter-century of the province Penn was grievously disappointed. "I am a crucified man," he writes, about 1705, "between injustice and ingratitude there,

and extortion and oppression here." Up to about 1710 the province, under the leadership of David Lloyd, may fairly be accused of ingratitude and selfishness; afterwards the people awoke to the true situation. Penn's troubles arose largely from a careless, confiding disposition in money matters. In 1669 he made one Philip Ford his agent in managing his Irish estates. He appears to have attended to this faithfully at a small salary till Penn became so deeply interested in Pennsylvania affairs that he left the entire management to Ford. When about starting to his colony in 1682, Ford presented to him a bill for about £2850, which he said he had incurred in his stewardship. A few days later Ford asked him to sign a deed covering some 300,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania as a security, and at the same time a bond for £6000 to pay the £3000 mentioned in the deed. All of these Penn carelessly signed. The fraud was so easily accomplished, Ford concluded to try again. The account grew at a marvellous rate. A large commission for receipts, compound interest every six months at the rate of eight per cent., salary, and other expenses had brought up Penn's indebtedness, by the time of his return in 1684, in excess of all receipts, to about £4300, and Ford, with his wife, who was really the greater rascal of the two, demanded another three hundred thousand-acre security. This included Pennsbury and several of Penn's reserved manors. The account still grew, and the demands of the Fords became more insatiate. In 1689, the proprietor being in disfavor at court, Ford prevailed upon him to convey to him the entire province and territories in lieu of the payment of a claim of about £7000. When Penn came out of his solitude in 1694 he earnestly desired to go to his province, but this claim was held over him as a club till he was bled all that he would bear. The matter went so far that Penn in 1697 conveyed to Ford the whole of his American property with the royal charter, and leased it of him so as to carry out the business of the sale of land and the reception of quit-rents. Of course, in order not to discourage immigration, the whole matter was kept

secret. Just as he was sailing, in 1699, Ford threatened to stop the voyage unless he would sign a paper releasing Ford from any obligation on account of errors in the previous accounts. Penn was in a dilemma and consented.

After his return he laid the case before his meeting, the Fords being themselves Quakers, and asked a settlement by arbitrators. This Mrs. Ford, her husband being dead, refused, and the meeting disowned her and her son, who was a party. The matter came into the courts, but no settlement was for a long time effected. The legal decisions were generally in favor of the Fords, but the friends of Penn, who were now thoroughly aroused, fought the case on the grounds of the flagrant frauds in the accounts. Isaac Norris came from Pennsylvania to aid. It was found that the Fords had received of Penn's money one thousand pounds more than they had paid out, and yet had a claim against him of about fourteen thousand pounds. They offered to pay what any disinterested men might award, but advised Penn not to meet Ford's claim. He therefore, in 1707, went to the debtors' prison, on Fleet Street. After remaining there about nine months the Fords were forced to a compromise, and agreed to accept seven thousand six hundred pounds. Some of Penn's friends raised the money, securing themselves by the future receipts from the province, and Penn shook off his shackles.

Another perennial subject of trouble was the dispute with the Baltimores concerning their boundary line. We have seen that Penn's title to the three lower counties, the present state of Delaware, came from the Duke of York. After he became James II. he had the deed confirmed, and this would have settled this part of the difficulty, but in the hurry of his exit in 1688, he neglected to have the great seal attached. By virtue of his charter of 1632 Baltimore claimed the whole peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. The conveyance, however, contained, in describing the land granted, the words "hitherto uncultivated," and it was claimed that the prior settlements of the Swedes and Dutch would invalidate the Maryland

title to the eastern portion of the peninsula. The matter was brought before the Board of Trade in London in 1685, and the decision was that the central point of the line running east and west between the two bays at the latitude of Cape Henlopen* be found, and from this point a line be run northwardly. East of this line the property was to belong to his Majesty (which would make the deed to William Penn legal), and west to Lord Baltimore. Baltimore tried in various ways for a number of years to reverse this decision, but the Penn influence was successful in maintaining it, and it determines the boundary of the State of Delaware to-day.

But the more difficult question of the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland still remained unsettled. The Baltimores claimed to the fortieth parallel, embracing Philadelphia. The Penns' demands went southward to the thirty-ninth parallel, embracing Baltimore. In the mean time each was practically exercising jurisdiction to about the latitude of New Castle, where the crown evidently intended William Penn's possessions to begin. Warnings were given to the settlers in the disputed territory to look for their titles to each of the contesting proprietors. The Maryland government colonized by force certain lands along the division line, and ejected the Pennsylvania colonists. Many conferences were held, and much money spent in London on law-suits. Finally, in May, 1732, an agreement was reached as follows : The line up the centre of the peninsula was to be continued in a northerly direction till it touched a circle drawn with a radius of twelve miles around New Castle as a centre, and from thence due north to a parallel of latitude fifteen miles south of the southernmost point of Philadelphia. From this point a line was to be run due west to the limits of Penn's grant.

But, while this settlement seemed satisfactory on paper, the contest continued. Where was to be the centre in New Castle? Was the radius to be measured on a level or up

* Probably not the present Cape Henlopen.

and down the hills? The Marylanders even claimed that "the circle of twelve miles" mentioned in the terms meant a *circumference* of this length. Much difficulty was met in finding the centre of the east and west line across the peninsula. Numerous other objections were raised, requiring a new London decision, in 1750, to remove. It was not till 1767 that two expert surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, located the northern boundary of Maryland at 39° 44′, and set up mile-stones along it.

CHAPTER V.

1701–1712.

Condition of Province—Andrew Hamilton—James Logan—David Lloyd—Colonel Quarry—Differences between Council and Assembly—Attack of Lloyd on Penn—Governor Evans—His Mistakes—Governor Gookin—War Supplies—Reaction towards Penn—Projected Sale of Province to Crown—Penn's Letter to His Colonists.

NOTWITHSTANDING the various political contentions, the colony during Penn's visit was prosperous. A Swedish clergyman writes: "The country is delightful and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live well without being compelled to too much or too severe labor. The taxes are very light. The farmers after their work is over live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as the respectable inhabitants of the towns."

The population was still mainly English and Welsh. The great streams of German and Protestant Irish immigration had not yet set in, though their advance-guards had come. The Swedes were rapidly losing their nationality, though they still maintained their Lutheran worship.

Religiously, the Quakers were by far the most numerous. In 1702 Logan writes that the population of the city was about equal to that of the country, and one-third of the former and two-thirds of the latter were Quakers. This is probably an underestimate of the Quaker population of the country. The Church of England members had so increased, mainly in Philadelphia, that they had formed an organization, and in 1697 built a church, the predecessor of Christ Church. There were three Quaker meeting-houses in Philadelphia, and a large number in the country. The old Swedes Church, still standing at Wicaco, was begun in 1698.

Trade was good; yearly a large number of vessels carried the produce of the country to England, usually by way of

the West India Islands, where they would make some change of cargo. Samuel Carpenter and others were growing rich by their mills, their ships, and their trade. This trade was much checked during the French and Spanish wars, between 1702 and 1712.

The farmers, too, were prospering with everything they needed except money. This all went to England to pay the debts of a rapidly growing colony. A gold or silver coin was a curiosity, and paper money was not yet introduced. Exchange was usually by barter, and tobacco, wheat, and almost any other produce served the purpose of a circulating medium. Even the quit-rents were paid in wheat, and the proprietor at times was glad to get it. The purchases were being surveyed, and the farmers were ascertaining their exact boundaries. Cattle ran at large over the unoccupied lands, each man branding and ear-marking his own stock. Rangers were appointed to gather in strays, a certain part of which went to the proprietary.

The city was growing up and down the river on either side of Market Street (then High Street), and extended back to Fifth or Sixth Street. The houses were mostly of brick and were substantially built. There was a dearth of official houses, and we find the council renting "ale houses" and rooms in private residences, while the assembly often sat in the Friends' meeting-houses.

Penn had offered the council and assembly the permission to choose their own deputy, but they declined. Markham was nearing his death; "poor honest Colonel Markham," as Logan describes him. We owe him at least one great debt. He kept the minutes of the council for about twenty years with clearness and good judgment, and they constitute the best contemporary history of the times. He impresses one as a sensible, useful man who never got his deserts. Penn then selected Andrew Hamilton, who died in a few months; and Edward Shippen, as president of the council, was acting lieutenant-governor for about a year. In February, 1704, came John Evans, another of Penn's unfortunate appointments.

JAMES LOGAN.

The political situation became rapidly confused as soon as the proprietor left the province. Three parties appeared. It is impossible to have complete sympathy with any one of them.

The proprietary party, with James Logan as leader, was composed for the most part of the more wealthy, better-educated Friends of the city of Philadelphia. They aided the governor and possessed the council. Sympathizing profoundly with Penn in his difficulties, and, to a certain extent, in his aspirations, their endeavor was to conduct the province in accordance with his wishes and his interests. Logan, reserved, unpopular outside his own circle, sharp with his tongue, harsh in his judgment on his enemies, and possessing the ear of Penn, is accountable for some of the difficulties of the situation. Nevertheless, so strong was Penn in the affection and respect of the people that Logan would probably have carried through his policy and made Pennsylvania something of an aristocracy, had it not been for the follies and iniquities of Governor Evans.

The second party was the popular party, led by David Lloyd, which for several years ruled the assembly. Lloyd was probably the ablest lawyer of the province. He was a Friend of good standing, and thoroughly devoted to the anti-martial, anti-swearing views of his society, from which he never budged. He was a democrat, an enthusiast for popular rights, and a strenuous opponent of the policy of Logan and the governors, who sought the increase, or at least the maintenance, of proprietary prerogatives. So far we may sympathize with him, but we cannot justify his methods. Indeed, he repeatedly overreached himself and lost the confidence of his own party. He was a correspondent and probably an abettor of the Fords, and a remonstrance he drafted (to be mentioned directly) betrayed a personal bitterness against Penn. He did not scruple to employ misrepresentation and exaggeration to wound the feelings and increase the difficulties of the proprietary. His party mainly consisted of the country Friends who admired his abilities, his stanch Quakerism, and his democratic tenden-

cies, but who threw him overboard when his virulence became too manifest. Except during short intervals he retained his influence till his death, rising finally to be chief justice of the province. No man, except Penn, had more to do in moulding its government.

The other party was the church party, still in a small minority, but with such strong allies in England that it made itself largely felt in the affairs of the province. It was out of sympathy with both the other parties, demanding defence against external enemies and the imposition of oaths to secure fidelity and truthfulness. Its claim was that these were as much a matter of conscience to it as the absence of them was to the Quakers. According to Logan, it refused to subscribe to a declaration which Penn wished its leading members to sign, asserting the absence of persecution for religion, because it said the denial of the superiority it held in England was in itself persecution. Without strength either in council or assembly, its principal mode of attack was to trouble the Quaker officials by securing from England commands to administer oaths to such as were willing to take them. Some Quakers resigned, having as much scruple against administering as taking oaths, while others temporized. By the continuation of the process it was hoped finally to drive all of them from power. The object of this party was to have Pennsylvania made a crown colony with an established church, the English toleration act, and an effective military organization. Its leader was Colonel Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, whose duty it was to protect the interests of the crown. He was independent of the colonial government, and for a number of years was a sharp thorn in the flesh of Penn and Logan, without, however, accomplishing much. Lloyd was, of course, utterly opposed to the claims of Quarry, though willing to use them in his controversy with the proprietary, who heartily disliked both.

The first question which brought these differences to an issue was whether the assembly had a right to adjourn when it pleased. This body contended that it had. The council

urged that the constitution of 1701 limited the right to short periods, but the assembly decided the matter by adjourning. To make a show of power, the council prorogued it to the day when it was again to assemble. But the battle was won by the popular body, led by David Lloyd.

That leader was so much encouraged that he persuaded the assembly to go a step farther. He resolved to attack the proprietary in person, whom he judged, probably rightly, was behind Governor Evans and Secretary Logan. During the closing days of the session of 1704 nine resolutions were adopted, complaining of certain difficulties which were assumed to be Penn's fault; these were referred to a committee to amplify and forward to him. They were supposed to be Lloyd's work, and were full of vindictive, unreasonable fault-finding, interspersed with some basis of truth. Logan states in a letter, and his words are confirmed by Isaac Norris, who of all the men of the time maintained the most even judgment, that the writers transcended their instructions, signed the document without authority, and interpolated the minutes to give it the appearance of legality. Certainly, when the next assembly, composed of nearly the same members, found out what was sent they made a pretence of repudiating it.

The paper charged Penn with encouraging the infringement of their liberties in the right of adjournment; of not securing relief for the Quaker officials in the matter of oaths; of not succeeding in having the laws confirmed by the crown; of taking money from the province for public purposes, which he converted to his own use; of personally sympathizing and associating with the enemies of the best interests of the province; of not fulfilling his promises in money matters; of appointing judges, commissioners of property, and other officers who, being responsible to him, denied justice to the people; and finally, they called attention to the increase of vice in the colony, which they inferred was due to the license and example of Governor Evans and William Penn, Jr.

The address was a bitter humiliation to the proprietor, and

was made as hard to bear as possible by being sent, not to him directly, but to three men of some prominence, who were personally unfriendly to him. Perhaps the hardest blow was the intimation that his son had demoralized the colony. There was some truth in it, but the information should not have come in a public document from the pen of a political and personal opponent. William Penn, Jr., had lived a dissipated life in England, and he was sent over by his father in the care of Logan and Evans, with instructions to make as much of him as possible, and to keep him interested in hunting and fishing. Pennsbury was placed at his disposal, and he was made a member of the governor's council. Men of standing and character, like Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, and Edward Shippen, were requested to exert what influence they could in a kindly way. The experiment did not succeed, and ended when young Penn and Governor Evans were arrested in a drunken disturbance late at night, after an attempt to beat off the guard. He died not long after as a result of his wild life. Penn attributed his demoralization to inability to care for him in early life, owing to colonial engagements. His only other son by his first wife, the promising and gifted Springett, had died shortly before.

When the nature of the address and its reception was noised abroad in the province, the condemnation was general. The next assembly tried to shield itself under the general irresponsibility for the acts of its predecessor, but finally published a disclaimer, which it directed Lloyd, as speaker, to send to Penn in England. That worthy man obeyed the order, but also sent a private letter directing that it should not be delivered. The vessel being taken by the French, the whole matter was secured by a friend of Penn and given to him, which did not tend to mollify his feelings towards David Lloyd.

The speaker was as distinctly repudiated by the province. In 1705 the assembly was a new one, only eleven of the twenty-six old members being re-elected, and of the eleven seven were friendly to Penn. Lloyd was defeated in the

county of Philadelphia. He, however, came in from the city, but lost the speakership. The assembly was in excellent accord with the governor and council, voted money freely for the use of the government, and passed a long list of useful bills with despatch and dignity. Lloyd had gone too far, and nothing was needed but wisdom and prudence on the part of the governor to maintain the harmony. But wisdom and prudence that official did not possess. By a series of remarkable blunders he alienated all the support he had gained.

There was in the assembly, from Bucks County, William Biles, an old man who preceeded Penn in his coming to the colony, a minister among the Friends, to whom, however, he had caused considerable trouble, because he would sell rum to the Indians. He was self-willed and irascible, and, Logan tells us, controlled pretty effectually, as a partisan of Lloyd, the politics of "that debauched county." In the heat of some controversy he said of the governor, "He is but a boy and not fit to be governor. We'll kick him out." This might readily have been overlooked, but Evans was now in a condition to revenge himself, so he had the old assemblyman before the court, which fined him three hundred pounds. It was expected that the matter would drop here and that the fine would be remitted, but Evans appears to have wanted the money. Public opinion, which had sustained him up to this point, now deserted him. The assembly refused his demand to expel their member, and protested against his arrest as a blow to their privileges. The Quaker ladies of the town rather ostentatiously looked after their minister's wants in jail, and he was finally released and went off to his farm and store at Falls in no friendly humor.

Still more serious was another piece of folly of the governor. He was having the usual contest with the Quaker assembly about a militia. That body was willing that Evans should establish a voluntary militia, but would make no provision for it either by voting money or making regulations. He adopted an expedient, the object of which probably was to show that the Quaker opposition to war

would not stand the test of an emergency, and so to discredit them.

There was an annual fair in Philadelphia, and in the midst of the largest assemblage he had a messenger ride in in great haste and announce that the French fleet was coming up the Delaware. The governor himself mounted his horse and rode up and down the streets, calling all the men to arm and assemble on "Society Hill," at Second and Pine Streets. The alarm was great. The small boats sought refuge up the river and small creeks; valuables were thrown into wells; women became hysterical, and children were sent into the country. The people mustered as requested, but very few Friends were among them. It happened to be the day of mid-week meeting, and the members were just gathering as the alarm came. They held their meeting in their usual quiet style, and paid no attention to the excitement.

The assembly charged Logan with being an accomplice, by heading off a boat which would have dissipated the story. He himself says he went out to investigate the rumor and prove its falsity, and his statement is probably correct.

Presently the real truth of the story, as well as the character and motives of the governor, came out. Every one was disgusted at the foolish attempt. Quaker principles had not been discredited, but the folly of Evans was clearly shown.

Still more futile was another attack on the liberties of the province, and this time he antagonized the proprietary's best friends. Evans was also governor over Delaware, whose assembly was not controlled by Quakers. He persuaded them, or they him, to erect a fort in the river and charge toll on all vessels passing by. This was a direct blow at the trade of Philadelphia, which several of the leading merchants determined to meet. Three wealthy Quakers were about despatching a boat to Barbadoes loaded with merchandise. One of them, Richard Hill, an old seaman, took the helm himself and resolved to defy the fort. Evans

learned of it, and himself went to take charge of the collection of the toll. The guns were fired at the sloop, but it sailed by with a hole through the main-sail. Hill entered Salem Creek, and found there, to his surprise, Lord Cornbury, governor of New York and New Jersey. Evans had also chased the sloop in his boat. They left the matter to the arbitrament of Lord Cornbury, whose decision was in favor of Hill. Evans had no recourse except to threaten prosecution, but finding his own council and every one else opposed to him, gave up and the fort was demolished.

These matters destroyed the little temporary popularity of the governor, and Lloyd was again in the saddle. For several years we have the spectacle of an alert and able manager, "boss" we could now call him, by his unwearied attention to the details of politics, remaining in power, though the sober thought of the country was strongly opposed to him. Thus, in 1705, he was left in a hopeless minority. A year later, owing to the follies of Evans, there was a Lloyd legislature, and this continued till, in 1710, a new and better governor gave the province a taste of wiser management. The plan of this early political manager, as of so many since his time, was to secure the election of respectable but not strong men, who would support him in his plans. When matters were quiet, or the tide ran against the proprietary through the follies of his lieutenant, the better men would stay at home. When, however, they roused themselves they made the Lloyd influence subordinate.

This much, however, must be said for the work of David Lloyd. It made Pennsylvania a pure democracy; it made the popular assembly the ruling body, a state of things which stood the province in good stead when the proprietaries, later in its history, attempted to make serious inroads upon its privileges; it probably also put vigor and vitality into the Quaker testimonies against war and oaths. Lloyd was perhaps in his political contests bitter, vindictive, and swayed by his passions, but the ends he carried were such as we would now approve, and Pennsylvania would have

been a different state had the policy of Logan in these formative days had no effective counterpoise.

Lloyd was evidently very much incensed against Logan, and having now complete command of the assembly he proceeded to impeach the secretary. There were a number of technical charges of usurpation of authority, which were drawn up as articles and presented to the council, but that body postponed the hearing on the plea of doubtful authority, and Logan, in 1709, carried the case over to England, where, after a stay of two years he was triumphantly acquitted by the proprietary and public opinion, and returned to his old station.

Penn finally concluded that Evans had stirred up enough trouble, and early in 1709 he replaced him by Colonel Charles Gookin. The proprietary's affairs were now improving. He was cleared of the Ford business. His influence at court, always strong since Queen Anne came upon the throne, further increased when the burden of debt was off him. It is true his province was suffering from the disturbance to trade caused by French privateers and the iniquities of Evans, but these were soon to be rectified. It only required a rebound of public confidence towards him in the province to complete his tranquility, and this came in 1710.

Colonel Gookin was not a very wise man. He was irascible, and possibly during the latter part of his career he was somewhat deranged. But he was a respectable person of honest intentions, and the country felt no fear of him. He found in session one of Lloyd's assemblies and the same one practically was returned in the fall of 1709. A year later there came a great popular revulsion. The liberality and goodness of the proprietary, and the difficulties piled upon him by their own ill-considered remonstrances and petty differences, seemed to have taken hold of the voters, and they returned an assembly, leaving out every member of the last one. Lloyd himself was defeated and stayed out two years, moving to Chester to reside. When he returned to public life it seemed to be with a new spirit, and the

part he took afterwards appears to have been entirely creditable to him. Every member of the new assembly was a friend of Penn, and it included such substantial men as Isaac Norris, Richard Hill, William Trent, Thomas Masters, and Caleb Pusey. As in 1705, the records show, instead of fencing and fighting, the passage of a long list of valuable laws, which were promptly signed.

One of these is of peculiar interest as being the first attempt in America to legislate against slavery. It was an act preventing the importation of negroes and Indians. The Quaker meetings had been moving in the matter and the assembly responded. Unfortunately, the mother country considered its interests jeopardized and repealed the law. English companies had been chartered to supply the colonies with slaves. The benevolent intention of the Pennsylvanians came in contact with the commercial schemes of England and had to be abandoned.

The difficulty with regard to war supplies was also harmoniously settled. Gookin had been asked by the home government to raise one hundred and fifty men at the expense of the province towards an army to invade Canada. He suggested, anticipating trouble, that if the assembly would appropriate four thousand pounds he would find the men without violating any conscience. The governor himself, in a letter to London, gives an account of the proceedings. "The Queen having pressed me with her command that this province should furnish 150 men for its expedition against Canada I called an assembly and demanded £4000. They being all Quakers after much delay resolved N.C. that it was contrary to their religious principles to hire men to kill one another. I told some of them the Queen did not hire men to kill one another but to destroy her enemies. One of them answered the assembly understood English. After I had tried all ways to bring them to reason they again resolved N.C. that they could not directly or indirectly raise money for an expedition to Canada but they had voted the Queen £500 as a token of their respect &c. and that the money should be put into safe

hand till they were satisfied from England it should not be employed for the use of war. . . . They are entirely governed by their speaker. one David Lloyd."

The next assembly was more pliable. "We did not see it," Isaac Norris said, "to be inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* not being our part but hers."

So they quietly voted two thousand pounds "for the Queen's use," with this explanation:

"That the majority of the people of this province being of the people called Quakers religiously persuaded against war and therefore cannot be active therein; yet are as fully persuaded and believe it to be their bounden duty to pay tribute, and yield due obedience to the powers God has set over them in all things, as far as their religious persuasions can admit; and therefore we take this occasion to express our duty loyalty and faithful obedience to our rightful and gracious Queen Anne and accordingly have voted the sum of £2000 to be raised by the inhabitants of this province for the Queen's use which we hope will be taken in good part and accepted as a token of our duty." This was the last difference about war measures for nearly thirty years. Peace was secured in 1713, and the province entered upon a career of great prosperity.

The financial and political difficulties of William Penn had been so serious that he had concluded to sell his rights in Pennsylvania to the crown. As early as May, 1703, a minute of the Board of Trade states, "A letter from Mr. Penn signifying his willingness to resign the government of Pennsylvania to the Crown upon a reasonable satisfaction and with the preservation of some few privileges was received." The difficulty consisted in these "few privileges." They related to the rights of Quakers in the government. Penn did not mean that they should be deprived of their share in managing affairs because they would not take oaths or bear arms. In the same year he wrote to Logan, "It was not to be thought that a colony and constitution of government made by and for Quakers would leave them-

selves and their lives and fortunes out of so essential a part of government as juries." And yet he saw that exactly this would happen if the king should have the executive appointment. Oaths would be imposed and Quakers excluded from juries and other official stations. It was to preserve these rights of his colonists that Penn delayed the sale. Had he sold he would have been very easy in his money matters, for a good sum was ready for him. All the while these same colonists were sending over ugly remonstrances for his neglect of them, and Logan was writing urging him to make the best terms possible without regard to the civil and religious privileges of an ungrateful people. His demand that "the people called Quakers be continued as capable and eligible to any civil employment" was the main block in the way of the sale. But "Their Lordship object especially to the expressions relating to Liberty of Conscience (in Penn's conditions) which he said was at present provided for by the laws of the province."

Thus the differences went on till 1712, when he succeeded in completing the bargain. The price was to be twelve thousand pounds, he, of course, reserving his manors and other private property, and he says, "I have taken effectual care that all the laws and privileges I have granted to you shall be preserved by the queen's governors; and that we who are Friends shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the government, being humble and discreet in your conduct."

One thousand pounds were paid by the government on account, but a stroke of apoplexy made Penn incapable of completing the transfer, and the sale was not consummated. The failure was to the great advantage not only of Pennsylvania but of the family of William Penn.

In the mean time excellent relations between the proprietary and his colonists had been resumed. Before the favorable election of 1710 Penn had written an eloquent and pathetic plea for friendliness and sympathy. It did not reach the province till after the election, and hence did not

influence it. The reaction had come without any effort on his part. But the letter was widely read in the Quaker meetings and elsewhere, and the hearts of the people went out to their leader. As soon as they saw a chance for a little good government from his hands, and knew how deeply he and they had been imposed upon by designing men, there remained no place for an anti-proprietary party. During the life of Penn and of his widow the relations were all that could be desired, and when, thirty years later, a party opposed to the sons of Penn appeared, it was based on new issues and was led by new leaders. While an alert and prosperous people were demanding liberty, sometimes unwisely, and a series of not very sagacious lieutenant-governors were defending their masters' prerogatives, also sometimes unwisely, there would of necessity be differences. But bitterness was gone, and from this time the memory of Penn was revered in his colony as a wise and far-seeing legislator, a generous defender of popular rights, a pious and consistent minister.

Before resuming the history of the province we will take leave of its founder. While writing a business letter to Logan, dated 4th 8th month (October), 1712, he was stricken with paralysis. He recovered in a week so as to add as a postscript, "My dear love to all my dear friends." Other attacks soon followed, and though he lived till 1718, to the age of seventy-four years, his mind was weakened, and in happy forgetfulness of earthly troubles, but in a living sense of the Divine presence, he spent the last six years of his life. During this time his wife, Hannah Penn, conducted with great wisdom the affairs of the province.

CHAPTER VI.

1712–1726.

Gookin's Salary—The Oath Troubles—Jonathan Hayes—Stiffening the Penal Code—Governor Keith—Death of Penn—His Heirs—Economy in Administration—Issues of Paper Money—Attack on Logan—His Vindication.

GOVERNOR GOOKIN managed to live for a time in harmony with the assembly. For his own sake it was desirable that he should, for his salary was dependent upon its bounty. It was a humiliating alternative to which the lieutenant-governors were often reduced, of having to swallow their convictions and do the behests of the representatives of the people, or be deprived of the means of living. Gookin sometimes humbly, sometimes with spirit, asked for the modest compensation which, as a poor bachelor, he thought his services deserved. But after five years of forced economy and reasonable subservience to the popular will, one can hardly wonder that he became somewhat exasperated. It was unfortunate, however, that his wrath took exactly the forms it did. When the house on the first day of the session did not find itself in possession of a quorum, Gookin refused to recognize its rights, even to adjourn for one day, would not legalize any of its acts, and sent a delegation from his house with threats and reproaches. He charged Richard Hill, the speaker, and James Logan, with being disloyal to the reigning monarch, George I., and friends of the pretender. Isaac Norris also became a subject of his enmity, and he protected a wretch who attempted to assassinate him.

A more far-reaching difficulty occurred in connection with the much-discussed question of oaths. In 1711 the assembly passed an act, which Gookin signed, which made

the affirmation legal in all cases where a scruple existed about being sworn.

The act began, "That when any person who for conscience' sake cannot take an oath shall be called before any magistrate or proper officer to give evidence in any matter or case whatever, such magistrate or officer shall administer the affirmation as hereinafter directed to such person or persons in these words, 'A. B., thou art called here to give thy evidence; dost thou protest solemnly and declare that the evidence thou shalt give be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth'?"

The Quakers objected to oaths mainly on the grounds of biblical prohibition, as they understood it, but also because the careless way of using the name of God in courts was a profanation. Hence many of them objected also to the common form of affirmation, which contained the expression, "in the presence of Almighty God." To satisfy this feeling the above act was passed. When it finally got to the Queen in 1714 she repealed it. A year later it was practically passed again, and again signed by Gookin. This plan of re-enactment of offending laws worked very well in general, provided the governor could be induced to sign, and was frequently resorted to. The laws were valid till repealed.

Shortly after, however, the English act regulating the matter was extended to the colonies for five years. By this Quakers could not give evidence in any criminal case, nor sit on juries, nor hold any civil office. The governor now gave it as his opinion that this repealed the provincial law, and was properly in force. It was put to him with great urgency, both by council and assembly, that the conditions of their charter made their laws of force till repealed by the Queen in the usual way; that the English law when enacted was in the nature of an extension of Quaker rights, not a denial, and that the new regulation differed from but was not repugnant to it.

It was also pointed out to him that his construction would prove ruinous to the colony, and was in the nature of bad

faith. The charters and privileges were given to Pennsylvania when the conditions of Quaker rule were perfectly known. Nearly all the judgeships, magistracies, and other positions were held by Quakers, who constituted by far the largest part of the men of education and position in the province. In the country, in many localities, there were no others. Justice could not go on, notorious crimes could not be testified against, and the machinery of courts would break down. But Gookin was firm. The judges hesitated to perform any duties under the governor's interpretation of the law, and for two years the colony got along without much government, the Quaker meetings supplying the deficiency so far as their own members were concerned.

Gookin finally became unbearable, and the council sent a unanimous petition to Penn to appoint a successor. The proprietor was too enfeebled to act in the matter, but his widow selected from among numerous applicants William Keith, who came to the province in 1717.

Only one very serious case seems to have been carried over to the new administration as a result of Gookin's legal interpretations. In 1715, Jonathan Hayes, a prosperous farmer of Chester County was murdered. The crime was fixed upon two men of low character, with considerable certainty, but just then the governor's opinion as to the invalidity of a criminal trial without oaths was published, and as the court declined to act, the prisoners were finally released on bail. They became very boisterous and impudent, and were a sore trial to their Quaker neighbors. When Keith came into power they were brought to trial according to provincial law. Eight of the jury were Quakers, as well as a number of the witnesses, and they were affirmed. Governor Keith himself attended the trial, as did also David Lloyd, now chief justice. The prisoners were adjudged guilty, and with this judgment the governor agreed. They appealed to England, basing their case on the illegality of a criminal trial without oaths. The governor and council, however, decided there was no appeal, and they were executed. The affair made a great stir in

England. It was held to be monstrous that the life of a citizen should be taken by an unsworn jury, and the whole matter soon came up for settlement.

In 1718 the assembly passed an act which made an affirmation, of the form used in England which included the name of God, legal, on exactly the same footing as an oath, and untruthfulness punishable as perjury. It mentions as the excuse for its passage "Forasmuch as the greatest part of the inhabitants of the province are such who for conscience' sake cannot take an oath in any case, yet without their assistance justice cannot (be) well administered, and too great a burden will fall on the other inhabitants." That this passed the councillors of the king the following year is probably owing to its being coupled with other provisions to make it palatable.

These are of such a character as will now hardly be commended. We have seen that William Penn included murder and treason only in his list of capital crimes. The colony, while probably not more troubled with criminals than others, was, as a result, subject to a continued series of charges of laxity of administration. Governor Keith appears to have shrewdly suggested to the Quaker assembly that their contention with regard to affirmations might more easily prevail if they would adopt the English criminal law. So it proved; and the same act which gained the one added to the list of capital offences, highway robbery, maiming, burglary, and other serious crimes against person or property, and a future enactment added counterfeiting. Moreover, the bill practically turned over to the English legislature their criminal code for the future, by enacting "When any person or persons shall be so as aforesaid convicted or attainted of any of the crimes, they shall suffer as the laws of Great Britain now do *or hereafter shall* direct and require in such cases respectively." One of the sources of the admiration we have felt towards William Penn has been his penal code, so far in advance of his time. It is fitting, perhaps, that this code did not outlive its author. Up to the Revolution the new law was carried into effect, but by

1776 public opinion had advanced to the standard of 1682, and Penn's list of capital crimes was re-enacted. It was right that the Quakers should have their consciences shielded in the matter of oaths. We may perhaps hold that they paid more than an equivalent for the liberty; though so far as we know, no protest came up from any civil or ecclesiastical body, and the law was executed in its severity through all the colonial days.

By the efforts of governor and assembly the matter of oaths was finally disposed of by an act passed in 1724, and confirmed a year later by the crown, which from that time to this defines the status of all opposed in conscience to oaths. A form of affirmation omitting the deity's name, being simply a promise to speak the truth, was adopted. Those having no scruple were still permitted to take the oath. Consciences were perfectly easy. It, however, drove Quakers from all positions where the administration of oaths was a part of the duties. An official could not decline this function if any individual demanded it. As a minority member of a board administering oaths he might retain the place, refusing participation in the objectionable measures. But the consistent Friends of those days resigned or declined a line of judicial and magisterial positions which they had previously held, and for which their attainments qualified them. Those who were not consistent were brought into the traces by their meetings.

Governor Keith seemed, for a time, to succeed admirably. He kept in close touch with the assembly, treated it with great courtesy, and seemed anxious to join with it in providing for the wants of the colony with great assiduity. He had his reward in money, which they voted him liberally, and in popularity. He wrote for them an address to the crown, eulogizing the Quakers as steady, trustworthy people, and pleading for their liberty to have affirmations.

By the will of William Penn, he left his English and Irish estates to the children of his first wife, and Pennsylvania to younger children,—of whom at this time there were five: John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and Dennis,—with their

mother as executrix and guardian. William Penn, Jr., made a short-lived attempt to break the will, and, as proprietor, sent instructions to Keith to cherish the Church of England and maintain a militia. The government, as distinct from the land, was left to three lords in trust, to complete the sale to the crown. A suit was instituted to ascertain ownership, and in the mean time but little attention was paid to the eldest son, who died about two years after his father, his son Springett outliving him but a little time. Mrs. Penn practically directed affairs, and the suit confirmed her in the place.

In the mean time she was greatly aided by the politic conduct of Keith. Under him affairs were moving on in the province with a smoothness and facility hitherto unknown. Both governor and assembly were anxious to do the right thing. He announced his intentions of taking his directions only from the old proprietary's instructions, and as it turned out, this proved the right thing to do.

Industrial conditions were also favorable. The agricultural production was superabundant. To increase the foreign demand, laws were passed appointing inspectors to certify to the quality of the flour and salted meats, and these soon gained a reputation which made the export trade a feature of great importance. To increase the home consumption, the use of foreign foods, like sugar and molasses, was discouraged, and these laws in time helped to work out the desired results.

The government expenses were kept low. Keith was allowed nine hundred and fifty pounds, and the tavern and other licenses, which doubled his income. Collectors of customs were paid commissions on their receipts, and the judges, except the chief justice who was paid a salary, were rewarded by fees. Then there were presents to Indians, the payment for London influence and other small matters, so that the total annual expense of the provincial government under Keith was about fifteen hundred pounds, and this was paid by a tax on real and personal property, duties on spirits, flax, hops, and negroes, and the interest on loans.

By dexterous flattery the governor induced the assembly to establish equity courts, the judges to be appointed by himself, and a militia. He assured them that no military requirements would be made and no conscience violated. He was strong enough to avert the danger of an act inquiring into the property and religious qualifications of the German immigrants as a condition of citizenship, and with great skill he warded off trouble with the Indians when one of their number was killed under aggravated circumstances by the whites, their chief finally requesting that the offender should not be put to death, "one life is enough to be lost, there should not two die."

The crowning effort of Keith, which restored commercial as well as political prosperity to the colony, was the issue of paper money. There was a great deficiency in the medium of exchange. England refused to admit provincial manufactures, and the purchases from the mother country were many and varied. Everything must be paid for in gold and silver. The provinces all felt the drain of money, and resorted to divers expedients to remedy the loss. In Pennsylvania produce was made a legal tender, and the rate of interest was reduced from eight to six per cent., but the evil continued. Several of the colonies had issued paper money, and the immediate effects being agreeable, had continued the process so far as to produce a great depreciation. There is not much wonder, therefore, that when the governor proposed the measure, Norris, Logan, and other conservative men strongly objected. Yet we must now judge him to have been right, for so judiciously and cautiously were the issues made that the new money maintained its equality with gold.

The process devised in Keith's time, first adopted in 1723, and to which the colonists became warmly attached, was as follows: The first issue was fixed at fifteen thousand pounds, and bills were in size from one to twenty shillings. Any owner of plate or unencumbered real estate could procure these bills, pledging his property and paying five per cent. per annum. The loan on plate could be for one year only, on real estate for eight years.

The amount loaned to one person could not be less than twelve or more than one hundred pounds, unless part of the loan remained untaken. One-eighth of the principal of the loans on the real estate was to be repaid annually. The money thus paid in was to be applied to the purchase of other bills, which were then to be "sunk" or destroyed. Careful provision was made against counterfeiting, and the bills thus became a circulating medium, and a legal tender at par for the payment of all debts.

The act proved so useful that a year later an additional issue of thirty thousand pounds was decreed, to run twelve and a half years, with one important modification. The bills, when paid in, were to be reissued on new loans, thus preserving the volume of the paper currency.

The process was continued till the Revolution, and finally became a favorite plan of the popular party. The proprietors always opposed it, fearing depreciation and disaster. It is much to the credit of the assembly that it studied the problem carefully, determined judicially the limits of safety, and for fifty years maintained the system without fear of any repudiation, and to the manifest benefit of the province in the peculiar position in which it was placed.

While Keith was vastly popular with the assembly and the people, the council was suspicious and distrustful. He joined heartily in the contention of the party of David Lloyd that the latter body had no place in legislation. It was not mentioned in the charter which gave the governor and freemen the sole power to enact laws. It was only mentioned incidentally in the constitution of 1701, and Keith contended that he might do as he pleased in signing laws without regard to its advice. Constitutionally he was right, but he was the servant of the proprietaries, who could remove him at will, and who had directed him to do nothing without advice. He, however, flattered himself that his popular strength would enable him to defy his employers. He removed Logan from his positions as secretary of the province and member of the council, on the plea that a certain minute was not respectful to himself.

The ex-secretary immediately sailed to England, and had the satisfaction of returning with letters from Mrs. Penn, restoring him to his positions and reprehending the governor. She censured him for appointing new councillors without the consent of those already existing, and, while admitting that they did not legally have a part in government, considered their advice and aid necessary in transacting his important duties. Logan was unqualifiedly endorsed, and a strong hint was conveyed to Keith that it might be necessary to change governors if he were not more obedient.

Keith appears to have believed that the failure to remove him resulted from the tangled condition of proprietary affairs in England, and his own successful administration. Consequently he concluded to take the assembly into his confidence, and conveyed to it Mrs. Penn's letter of instructions and his own reply. Logan therefore thought it necessary to vindicate the proprietary family and himself by a long explanation; the war horse, David Lloyd, from his place as chief justice, could not see his old adversary in the field without issuing an address in favor of the champion of popular rights, arguing that a deputy had all the powers of the principal, and could not be restricted by instructions, all of which papers were placed upon the minutes of the assembly. The house responded to the arguments of its old leader, agreed to support the governor, and voted him one thousand pounds.

Matters were evidently going too far, and Mrs. Penn quietly removed the governor. It is a proof of the devotion of the people to the proprietary family that they acquiesced so quietly and deserted their champion. He strove to raise a popular clamor, and had himself elected to the assembly, but his power was gone. His administration had been successful beyond all before him, he had defended the things about which Quakers cared the most,—liberty of conscience and popular power,—but we can hardly acquit him of unfaithfulness to his employers and the habits of a demagogue. He left the country suddenly in 1728 to avoid creditors, after an attempt to make trouble for his successor, and died in prison in London.

CHAPTER VII.

1726–1736.

Gordon's Good Administration—More Paper Money—Andrew Hamilton's Letter—Death of Hannah Penn—Her Sons.

THE saying of Carlyle, "Happy the nation whose annals are blank in history books," may be applied to the administration of Keith's successor, Patrick Gordon. He was an old man of eighty-two years when he began his governorship, yet he successfully managed the affairs of the province for ten years. He had been a soldier of Queen Anne's army, and said in his first message to the assembly that he had imbibed simplicity and directness and an absence of "refined politics" from camp life. Though he was subject to some suspicion, after Keith's discharge, for fear of his too great devotion to proprietary interests, his justice, good sense, and dignity soon gained him confidence, and he fortunately welded popular and proprietary interests into harmonious relations. He was the best of the lieutenant-governors. He used his council as the proprietaries expected, but never seriously thwarted the assembly. While his instructions encouraged him to oppose paper money issues, he frankly confessed that his observations since he reached the province had made him favorable to them if carefully guarded; that they, by stimulating industry, were doing as much for England as for her colony. Ship-building was now becoming a profitable industry, and many a handsome and well-laden boat found sale for itself and cargo at the end of its first voyage. The iron manufactures were increasing, and this had some effect in diminishing the drain of gold; he did not think that authorities in England when they knew all the conditions would seriously oppose a moderate issue.

The success of paper money in the past, together with the annual reduction of the first issue by purchase, according to the law, caused the people to clamor for more. They were now on relatively safe ground. They had carefully guarded the amount, and, unlike the other colonies, which had permitted the issue to rest on the credit of the government alone, they had secured it by plate and real estate. Nevertheless, there is a gradual intoxication that comes over people when considering paper money, and it was well for the Pennsylvanians that a wise old counsellor like Patrick Gordon, while admitting the utility of the plan, could be heard urging moderation. By his advice the new issue was cut down from fifty thousand pounds to thirty thousand pounds, making all the money out seventy-five thousand pounds, and thus it remained till 1739; all that was paid in being re emitted.

During Gordon's administration of ten years, Pennsylvania was in a state of great political and commercial prosperity.

Andrew Hamilton, the speaker of the assembly, in glowing words, describes affairs in 1739.

"It is not to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation; and the extraordinary increase of people who have been drawn here from almost every country in Europe;—a progress which much more ancient settlements on the main of America cannot, at the present, boast of. No. It is principally and almost wholly owing to the excellency of our constitution, under which we enjoy a greater share both of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbors.

"It is our great happiness that instead of triennial assemblies, a privilege which several other colonies have long endeavoured to obtain but in vain, ours are annual, and for that reason as well as others less liable to be practised upon or corrupted either with money or presents. We sit upon our own adjournments when we please and as long as we think necessary and are not to be sent a-packing in the

middle of a debate, and disabled from representing our just grievances to our gracious sovereign, if there should be occasion, which has often been the hard fate of assemblies in other places.

"We have no officers but what are necessary, none but what earn their salaries, and those generally are either elected by the people or appointed by their representatives.

"Other provinces swarm with unnecessary officers nominated by the governors, who often make it a main part of their care to support those officers, notwithstanding their oppressions, at all events. I hope it will ever be the wisdom of our assemblies to create no great offices or officers, nor indeed any offices at all, but what are really necessary for the service of the country and to be sure to let the people, or their representatives, have at least a share in their nomination or appointment. This will always be a good security against the mischievous influence of men holding places at the pleasure of the governor.

"Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts except those small duties payable to his majesty by the statute of the law of Great Britain. The taxes which we pay for carrying on the public service are inconsiderable, for the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money for the public service is lodged in the assembly who appoint their own treasurer and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental taxes are assessed, collected, and applied by persons annually chosen by the people themselves. Such is our happy state as to civil rights. Nor are we less happy in the employment of a perfect freedom as to religion. By many years' experience, we find that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practise of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs that always attend religious squabbling.

"This is our constitution, and this constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn the first proprietary and founder of this province, whose charter of privilege to the inhabit-

ants of Pennsylvania will ever remain a monument of his benevolence to mankind, and reflect more lasting honor on his descendants than the largest possessions in the framing of this government. He reserved no powers to himself or his heirs to oppress the people, no authority but what is necessary for our protection, and to hinder us from falling into anarchy, and, therefore (supposing we could persuade ourselves that all our obligations to our great lawgiver, and his honorable descendants, were entirely cancelled), yet our own interests should oblige us carefully to support the government on its present foundation, as the only means to secure to ourselves a prosperity, the enjoyments of those privileges, and the blessings flowing from such a constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy if the fault be not our own."

The record of Gordon's time relates to simple affairs: the effort to have duty taken off salt so that the shad fisheries of the Delaware could be used to profit; the settlement of knotty questions when the Indians killed a white man, or the reverse; who should pay, the proprietaries or the assembly, for the expenses of Indian treaties; the setting off of the new County of Lancaster from Chester; the appointment of Ferdinand John Paris as provincial agent of the assembly in London, who was to see that the popular side of all questions was properly represented at court; the claim of the French to the lands lying along the Ohio and its tributaries; and the perennial quarrel with the Maryland proprietaries. In such days of peace and prosperity some of these seemed stirring questions for the statesmen of the province.

David Lloyd died in 1731. The chief justiceship was offered first to Isaac Norris, who declined, then to James Logan, who accepted. During the last twenty years of Lloyd's life he placed his great abilities to good use, and the memory of his Welsh temper being forgotten, he died generally respected.

Hannah Penn died in 1733, and her son Dennis being also dead, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn became the proprie-

taries. John was called "the American," because he was born in Pennsylvania during the founder's second visit. Both John and Thomas came to the colony during Gordon's administration. John soon went back to resist Lord Baltimore, but Thomas remained from 1732 to 1741. He was a man of business, who looked upon Pennsylvania as an estate which should be made to yield as much as possible. Well educated, with many accomplishments, he had yet none of his father's spirit of philanthropy, and none of his broad-minded statesmanship. He left the Society of Friends, and hence got out of touch with the leading men of the colony. The value of his estate was, by rapid colonization and prudent management, beginning to show great possibilities, and he set himself to work to develop it by Indian purchases, by the reservation from settlement of the best tracts so that the increase would come to himself, by gathering in his quit-rents and mortgages when due, and by protecting his rights from the aggressions of the assembly. The questions which in later decades separated popular and proprietary interests were in Gordon's time only in embryo, and Thomas Penn was abundantly satisfied with the financial outlook.

John Penn died in 1746, and Thomas acquired a three-fourths interest in the province, so that he was considered practically the sole proprietor till his death in 1775. His possessions made him very wealthy, and he and his son John bought from the proceeds Stoke Park near Windsor, and built Pennsylvania Castle on the Island of Portland.

Gordon died in 1736, aged ninety-two, and was succeeded by James Logan as president of the council, though not as governor. As it required the concurrent action of governor and assembly to enact laws, but little business was accomplished during two years, and the province went on in its peaceful way with the impetus it had already gained.

THOMAS PENN.

CHAPTER VIII.

1736–1754.

Governor Thomas—Spanish War—Contest between Governor and Assembly—Isaac Norris, 2d—Benjamin Franklin—Walking Purchase—French War—War Taxes—More Disputes—Paper Issues—Albany Congress—Governor Hamilton—Indian Troubles.

GEORGE THOMAS, a planter in the West Indies, assumed the governorship by appointment of the Penn brothers in 1738. The era of peace and content now ended. The old anti-proprietary party of Lloyd was never revived after 1710. The wise administrations of Keith and Gordon had not permitted any differences to crystallize into parties. The assembly, continuously Quaker by popular election, was secure in its rights, and practically unanimous in its general policy. The proprietors were not unpopular, and their interests and those of the colony seemed to be, as indeed they were, identical. The oath question, so productive of differences in early time, was happily settled to general satisfaction. No English wars demanded aid which peaceful consciences could not give. The free institutions and fertile soil were drawing in immigrants by the thousands, and the colony was rapidly becoming first in trade, population, and good government. This condition might have continued longer had Governor Thomas been wise.

In 1739 England declared war against Spain. The origin of the war did not remotely concern Pennsylvania. England had invaded Spain's West Indian possessions to cut logwood and gather salt, and Spain had claimed the right to search English boats.

Before actual war, Governor Thomas sent to the house a message asking aid in defence. This body admitted in reply that the Quakers were now a minority of the province, though a large majority of the assembly. Yet they said,

"As very many of the inhabitants of this province are of the people called Quakers, who, though they do not as the world is now circumstanced, condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against it themselves, and to make any law against their consciences to bear arms would not only be to violate a fundamental in our constitution, and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would also in effect be to commence persecution against all that part of the inhabitants of the province, and should a law be made which should compel others to bear arms and exempt that part of the inhabitants, as the greater number of this assembly are of like principles, would be an inconsistency with themselves, and partial with respect to others," etc.

They, however, told the governor that he possessed delegated authority by the charter to raise a militia from such as wanted to enlist, and provide for the defence of the province. It would have been wise had the governor acted on this suggestion. Instead, he entered upon a warfare of words and argument, as if he could shake convictions which two generations of experience in administration had only strengthened.

He reminded them that they represented a province, not a denomination, and that their views were inconsistent with government. He pointed out that William Penn had accepted commissions involving the use of the military. He deprecated any intention to invade their privileges or their consciences, but reminded them that no purity of heart or rectitude of intention, or soundness of religious belief would protect their coast against an enemy. As well might a seaman sleep through a storm without exerting himself, or a husbandman expect to reap without sowing, or watchmen be kept off the streets. They themselves were willing to use judges and juries and policemen to keep down burglars and law-breakers. He furthermore referred to the example of 1711, when the assembly voted two thousand pounds to the queen's use.

The reply of the assembly called attention to their protected condition, distant from the sea, surrounded by

friendly colonies and friendly Indians, and to the fact that no war as yet existed. It differed from the governor in that it believed that purity of motive and religious consistency were protected by an Almighty God, who ruled the affairs of men. "Because we may lawfully build, plant, sow, or send ships to sea, or because it is necessary for a seaman to take care of a ship in a storm, that therefore it is consistent with Christianity to defend ourselves at the expense of the lives of our fellow-creatures, though our enemies, is not equally evident to us; and yet if others think the argument forcible, such have their liberty." There is much difference between shooting down a soldier in the opposite ranks, engaged in the performance of what he deems to be his duty, and executing a burglar who at the time of committing the deed is perfectly cognizant he is transgressing both human and divine law. As to William Penn's position, the reply says rather sarcastically, "We presume he (the governor) has not been conversant with our first proprietor's writings. . . . He not only professed himself a Quaker and wrote in their form, but particularly against wars and fightings;" and in regard to the grant of 1711 they say the governor (Gookin) kept it for his own particular use, which is "no great encouragement for future assemblies to follow the example."

The reply, while undoubtedly able and convincing from the assembly's stand-point, had a vein of sarcasm and argumentation running through it of which even the best Quakers did not approve. When it came to an ethical and historical discussion they were evidently better prepared than the new governor, and it would have been well had he retired from the contest; but it was maintained through several lengthy papers, until finally the governor in despair asked whether any one who held principles which prevented the defence of a state could properly take part in its government.

In the mean time war was declared, and the governor renewed the request for an appropriation for troops, but, beyond an expression of willingness to do their duty "so far as our conscientious persuasion will permit," he got

nothing before the assembly adjourned for harvest in 1740.

The governor by his own exertions raised a company of troops for three months. The ease with which this was done suggested a warlike population. As a matter of fact, many of the enlisted men were indentured servants, whose passage-money had been paid in advance, and who were willing to be excused by enlistment from working it out. When the house came together it very promptly appropriated three thousand pounds for the king's use, on the condition that all such servants should be discharged from the militia and no more enlisted. The governor could not well comply with this, and in wrath vetoed the grant.

The people showed their approval of the assembly by re-electing the old one in 1740. Two thousand five hundred pounds were immediately appropriated to the payment of the masters of the enlisted servants, and, peace coming soon, the matter might have ended. But angry and unnecessary papers passed between governor and assembly. Thomas Penn supported his appointee, as did also the combatant portion of the community, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the seeds of the party spirit, which continued till the Revolution, were being rapidly sown.

The governor wrote an unfortunate letter to England, narrating the stubbornness of the Quakers, and advising that an oath be made a preliminary to all offices as the only way to exclude them from power. He also denounced them for the manufactures they were establishing, and for their principles as being repugnant to the foundations of government. The assembly's agent secured a copy of this letter and transmitted it to the province. Great was the indignation, and the culmination came in the election for assemblymen in 1742.

The popular party had an overwhelming majority in the counties, hence, in common parlance, was "the country party." The governor, with "the gentleman's party," was strongest in the city. The excitement produced a riot on election day in Philadelphia. A large number of Germans

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

came into town to vote for and support their friends, the Quakers. The governor's party brought in from the ships in the harbor a body of seventy sailors. Ultimately the two parties came to blows; the result of the street fight was that fifty of the sailors found themselves in jail, and the country party, led by Isaac Norris, the son of William Penn's old friend, was triumphantly successful, electing the old members to a man.

The affair resulted in an investigation by the assembly, by which it appears that the governor was the aggressor. That official now began to show signs of reconciliation. He sent a friendly address to the assembly and signed several bills which they had much at heart. His reward promptly came in an appropriation of fifteen hundred pounds for his salary. The three years' dispute ended in a complete victory for the assembly. They had appropriated nothing for war. They had secured definite assurances of the governor's co-operation in the future, and they had been fully sustained by the country. The battle having been lost by the governor, he became tractable and respectful through the remainder of his course; not exactly gaining the respect of the assembly, but being a useful agent of theirs in carrying out their plans; and great was his financial recompense. He found the people better employers than the proprietaries, and ultimately lost his place by yielding too much.

Two men now began to come into prominence in the province. Isaac Norris, "the speaker," son of Isaac Norris, and grandson of Governor Thomas Lloyd might be expected to be a man of public spirit and usefulness. He was in the assembly for thirty years, for fifteen of which he was speaker. No man stood higher than he in public confidence. It was his boast, "No man shall stand on my grave and say, 'Curse him: here lies he who betrayed the liberties of his country.'" It was he who suggested the inscription on the Liberty Bell, "Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land and to all the Inhabitants thereof."

Benjamin Franklin, the other, came from Boston to Philadelphia in 1723, at the age of seventeen, with his pockets

full of shirts and stockings, hungry, and utterly unknown, "and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar and about a shilling in copper." He dispensed the copper to the boat which had brought him down from Burlington, and out of the dollar bought three rolls, the size of which surprised him, they were so much larger than Boston rolls. He ate them as he wandered the streets, and finding the crowd going to the Quaker meeting he followed and slept through the quiet hour. He soon made for himself a place, and, desiring to start a printing-house, Governor Keith induced him to go to England to buy his outfit, with a tacit promise, which the governor never fulfilled, that the young printer would have the official printing, and the public or some one should pay for the press.

The first printer, William Bradford, the only member of his craft in the country outside of Boston, had come over in 1685, but becoming involved in the Keith controversy, he left in 1693. Six years later the Friends brought over Reynier Jansen. Others followed, and in 1712 Andrew Bradford, William's son, became the Philadelphia printer. When Franklin came he found besides Bradford's one other printing-house, Samuel Keimer's, and here he obtained work.

In 1726 he returned from England, and three years later started the "Pennsylvania Gazette," in opposition to Bradford's "Weekly Mercury." The same year he entered into the political arena by publishing the first of his many pamphlets. It was an argument in favor of paper money, urging a radical rather than a cautious adoption of the plan, which, if heeded, would probably have led to disastrous results. It was bright and plausible, and gave its writer a hold on the more poorly educated people of the city. From this time his weekly newspaper made him an ever-increasing power. He was a consistent advocate of popular views all through the life of the anti-proprietary party, being a leading member, and was, except in the matter of war, a close political associate of the Quakers.

A great many conferences with the Indians had been held

since the historic one of 1683. Piece by piece the Indian land had been converted into blankets, ammunition, and playthings; and foot by foot the red men had been retiring into western Pennsylvania. They were becoming more uneasy as they saw their hunting-grounds passing away, with nothing tangible or permanent in return. Yet, so long as the bargains were fair and open, as William Penn and James Logan had made them, there seemed to be nothing to say. The payment seemed ample in each case, and though the Indians were usually drunk either before or after the trade no advantages were taken of them.

But with the advent of Thomas Penn as practical manager of affairs a different spirit began to prevail. This was first publicly manifested in the "Walking Purchase" of 1737, the history of which is as follows:—

In a treaty in 1728 James Logan said that William Penn never allowed lands to be settled till purchased of the Indians. Ten years before he had shown to their chiefs deeds covering all lands from Duck Creek, in Delaware, to the "Forks of the Delaware," * and extending back along the "Lechoy Hills" to the Susquehanna. The Indians admitted this and confirmed the deeds, but objected to the settlers crowding into the fertile lands within the forks occupied by the Minisink tribe of the Delaware Indians. Logan accordingly forbade any surveying in the Minisink country. White settlers, however, were not restrained, and the Indians became still more uneasy. A tract of ten thousand acres sold by the Penns, to be taken up anywhere in the unoccupied lands of the province, was chosen here and opened for settlement. A lottery was established by the proprietors, the successful tickets calling for amounts of land down to two hundred acres, and many of these were assigned in the Forks, without Indian consent.

In order to secure undisputed possession and drive out the Delawares, who it must be remembered had always been

* Between the Delaware and Lehigh Rivers, where Easton now stands.

more than friendly, a despicable artifice was resorted to, which will always disgrace the name of Thomas Penn. A deed of 1686, of doubtful authenticity, was produced, confirming to William Penn a plot of ground beginning on the Delaware River a short distance above Trenton, running west to Wrightstown, in Bucks County, thence northwest, parallel to the Delaware River as far as a man could walk in a day and a half, which was, no doubt, intended to extend to the Lehigh Hills, thence eastward by an undefined line, left blank in the deed, presumably along the hills to the Delaware River at Easton. It was one of numerous purchases of a similar character which, in the aggregate, conveyed to William Penn all southeastern Pennsylvania, and had, with his careful constructions, made no trouble. The walk, however, had never been taken, and in 1737 the proprietors brought out the old agreement as a means of securing a title to the Minisink country.

The route was surveyed, underbrush cleared away, horses stationed to convey the walkers across the rivers, two athletic young men trained for the purpose, and conveyances provided for their baggage and provisions. Indians attended at the beginning, but after repeatedly calling to the men to walk, not run, retired in disgust. Far from stopping at the Lehigh Hills, they covered about sixty miles and extended the line thirty miles beyond the Lehigh River. Then to crown the infamy, instead of running the northern line by any reasonable course they slanted it to the northeast and included all the Minisink country. It was a gross travesty on the original purchase, an outrageous fraud on the Indians, to which they very properly refused to submit. They remained in their ancestral homes, and sent notice that they would resist removal by force. There, unfortunately, seems to be no doubt of the iniquity of the transaction. There is the testimony of at least two witnesses to the *walk*. It appears to have been a common subject of remark. Indifferent men treated it as sharp practice, and honest men were ashamed. But the proprietaries had a sort of a title to the fertile lands along the Delaware.

The outrage did not stop here. The proprietaries, probably knowing the temper of the assembly, did not ask a military force to eject the Delawares. They applied to the Six Nations, who claimed all the Pennsylvania Indians as their subjects. In 1742 a conference was held in Philadelphia, where a large number of the chiefs of the various tribes were present. Presents worth three hundred pounds were given to the Six Nations, and after hospitable entertainment of several days, after the manner of the times, they were brought into conference with their tributary chiefs, the governor, and his council. The Iroquois sachem, after saying he had judicially examined the deeds, pronounced judgment in favor of the whites, and turning to the Delawares, who apparently had nothing to say, addressed them: "Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you; you ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses." Then with the bitterest taunts he proceeded: "But how came you to sell land at all? We conquered you. We made women of you; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women. . . . For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women, take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. . . . We assign you two places to go to, Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places and then we shall have you more under our eye and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away and take this belt of wampum."

There was nothing for the Delawares to do but to obey. They saw that the league between the whites and the Six Nations was irresistible. They placed them in the same category of enemies and bided their time. If, in the Indian sense, they had been women, that is, peaceful and trustful, they were soon to show that the injury had made them capable of coping with their dreaded Iroquois oppressors, and of sending the white frontiersmen fleeing in terror to towns and forts. But the cup of their injurious treatment was not yet full.

The Six Nations, having completed their contract in removing the Delawares, demanded a reciprocal favor. The lands along the Juniata River had never been purchased, and were claimed by these New York Indians as a part of their imperial domain. Moreover, they were valuable hunting-grounds. But the whites were pressing in, and the government of Pennsylvania was asked to clear them out. This request could not well be objected to, and an expedition was sent into the country which demanded the removal of the settlers and burned their buildings. The whites moved back as soon as the authorities were gone, and the old complaints were renewed.

No doubt the French were continually fomenting the disturbances. By artfully promising the recovery of lands and giving presents to chiefs, they were welding together most of the Indians, except three nations of the Iroquois, into a confederacy against the English. The Pennsylvanians, sensible of the danger, began to make counter-presents, and here the Quaker assembly and the proprietaries joined hands. It was a fortunate season for such Indians as could take advantage of the competition, but in the nature of things could not last.

We have anticipated our history so as to show the causes of many of the troubles which were to follow.

War was declared between England and France in 1744. Governor Thomas renewed his military recommendations, but this time with caution. He worked outside the assembly, and with the aid of Franklin, who was friendly with both sides, raised, it is said, ten thousand men. A lottery was projected to raise funds for a battery to defend the river. Logan, who did not share with his fellow-Quakers their objections to defensive war and lotteries, and who had shortly before sent an address to the Yearly Meeting, advising Friends either to defend the state or withdraw from the government, was active in aiding this scheme. So were a number of other Friends, though, as after-events proved, the militant Quakers were a small minority.

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts in 1745 conceived a

plan for attacking the French forces in Louisburg on Cape Breton. He secured the sanction of the English ministry, and a general call was made on the colonies for troops and money. The governor knew by this time that a bold request for war purposes would not be heeded by the assembly, and that body was aware that something must be done. They therefore adopted the "only expedient hitherto found to relieve the difficulties," and copied the example of the assembly of 1711. Reasserting their individual views in opposition to war they yet recognized a duty to support the government of the king. They therefore voted to grant four thousand pounds to trustees to be expended "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain, or any of them, within this province, and to be shipped from hence for the king's service." According to Franklin, the governor construed "other grain" to mean gunpowder, and so expended a part of the appropriation.

Louisburg fell after a two months' siege, but the war continued. The Pennsylvania Indians, by English abuse and French intrigue, were becoming hostile. The Shawnees openly joined with the French, and some of the Six Nations hitherto devoted to the English interest, became doubtful. As yet they were neutral, and it required many presents to keep them so.

In 1746 aid was asked for another Canadian expedition, and the assembly voted five thousand pounds "for the king's use."

Governor Thomas resigned in 1746. Since yielding to the assembly's wishes he had proved a successful governor, and his farther stay would have been acceptable. Anthony Palmer, the president of the council, acted as governor so far as legal requirements permitted, till in 1749 James Hamilton, the son of the late speaker, Andrew Hamilton, became lieutenant-governor. In the mean time peace with the French had come by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, though this was hardly regarded in America, and the French continued to seduce the Indians to their interest. They were much more successful than the English, and

when it was too late the Pennsylvanians found that expensive presents were necessary to regain their lost ground, and in this the council and assembly joined.

From this time till the Revolution there was a continual controversy between the assembly and the proprietaries touching questions of finance. The first of these related to payment for Indian presents. The assembly demanded that the Penns as private land-owners should pay at least part of this expense. This the proprietaries selfishly refused to do, alleging that other provincial governors were relieved of the expense, a comparison hardly fair, as other governors were simply political agents and not proprietors of the soil.

The assembly sent them a formal remonstrance in 1751, and a series of lively letters passed, which resulted only in widening the breach and preparing for the larger controversy soon to come concerning the taxation of proprietary lands.

Benjamin Franklin, who was elected to the assembly in 1751, having been its clerk since 1736, was the author of the final reply. From this time he drafted almost all the state papers for the assembly.

In 1751 that body sustained a severe loss in the death of John Kinsey, for ten years its speaker. He was a man of great intellectual and social gifts, and the last of the Quaker chief justices. He was succeded by Isaac Norris as speaker, and by William Allen as chief justice.

James Logan also died in 1751. The controversies of his early life had passed away. As the leading man of the province, having held all its chief offices, he spent his later days in scholarly retirement at his place at Stenton, held in respect by all. He collected a great library, part of which he afterwards gave to the city of Philadelphia, and wrote books in Latin. He was a man who inspired trust in all with whom he came in contact,—in William Penn and his more exacting sons, in Franklin, who shared his political and scholarly work, and in the red men, who considered a conference incomplete without him.

It was a striking commentary on the care with which

paper money issues had been made, that in 1751, when the colonies in general were prohibited by the home government from issuing bills as a circulating medium, an exception was made of Pennsylvania. The assembly immediately took advantage of this liberty to enact further issues. The governor objected first because the amount was too large, then, when that was reduced, for other reasons. It became evident to the house that he was restricted by unpublished instructions from the proprietaries, and a new question of difference came to the front. Was the assembly to go on framing acts when all the time the governor was restrained from signing them—a fact which could only be ascertained by his actions after the bill reached him? It was proper that his employers should give instructions. It had always been done. In earlier times these were usually confined to general directions to look after the interests of all, protect consciences, and some minor details. When the assembly asked to see them they were usually shown. The right of the governor to veto was recognized, so also was the right of the crown when the laws reached England in five years. But here seemed to be another veto, acting in advance, the nature and extent of which they could hardly determine. The question became in time one of the chief subjects of difference.

In this case of the paper currency, Franklin, as chairman of a committee, drew up a long paper showing the beneficial effect of past issues. Comparing 1723 with 1752, he showed that the number of vessels clearing from the port of Philadelphia had increased from eighty-five to four hundred and three, the imports from England from sixteen thousand pounds to one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, and the exports from about sixty thousand pounds to one hundred and ninety thousand pounds. The Indian trade had also increased, agriculture had been developed through the ability of purchasers to procure land without cash, yet with perfect security to the proprietaries, and the price of labor had been maintained, even though thirty thousand laborers had been imported within twenty years. These advantages

might have been greatly increased, the report stated, had the paper currency been more extensive.

This report only produced more attempts to pass bills, more vetoes and explanations, and more bitter rejoinders from the house. The governor probably did the best he could, but his instructions tied him down, and he was under heavy bonds not to violate them. He himself remonstrated with Thomas Penn, without effect, and the result was a refusal to allow any money bill to be passed which did not place the interest at the joint disposal of governor and assembly, instead of the assembly alone. This latter arrangement would, in the proprietary's eyes, render that body for a term of years too independent of himself and the crown. The assembly held tenaciously to the idea that the representatives of the people had control of the public revenue and expenditure, and refused to send in bills to meet the proprietary's views. Practically, therefore, nothing was done, and this condition might have existed much longer had not the exigencies of war demanded increased appropriations. The assembly, while undoubtedly right in principle, injured its cause by the rudeness and disrespect shown in its replies.

The French still kept up their activity in the Ohio Valley, on the claim that the land belonged to them by right of discovery. They held the ambitious project of connecting their provinces of Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts, and of controlling all the intervening territory. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington to ascertain their designs, which errand he accomplished in the dead of winter, 1753–4, and his report awakened the English government to a sense of the importance of the work before them.

One of their first efforts produced results the reverse of their intentions. It was resolved to have representatives of all the colonies meet the Six Nations at Albany, and once for all buy and persuade them into allegiance. The Pennsylvania agents, John Penn and Robert Peters, were sent by the governor, and Norris and Franklin attended on behalf of the assembly.

From a political stand-point the conference of 1754 was not highly satisfactory to the English. The Six Nations were cold. Part of them afterwards joined the French, who were better negotiators than the English, and more agreeable personally to the red men. This congress is memorable as being the first in which the colonies joined together for purposes of mutual support, and prepared the way for the great questions of the Revolution.

The Pennsylvania commissioners, when the public treaties were concluded, bought from the Iroquois, as lords of the soil, on behalf of the Penns, for four hundred pounds, all Western Pennsylvania south and west of a line from Shamokin to Lake Erie. Many charges were made afterwards with reference to this purchase; the Indians were deceived by false maps; some chiefs were privately bought; many were not represented; they were told the sale was only to clear away the claims of the Connecticut people to the land, and so on. These may be true. It is certain that when the Pennsylvania Indians found that their whole domain had been sold without their consent, and without advantage to them, they felt it was the last act which, on top of the Walking Purchase and the forced removal from Delaware Valley, was an indication of a settled intention to drive them from their homes. They threw off all allegiance to the Six Nations, ceased to be "women," and openly joined the French, who promised to restore them to their domains. They felt that the debt they owed to William Penn was cancelled, though they still held his memory in veneration, and never molested any Quakers who stood by their principles. All was in readiness for an Indian war as soon as a good excuse came, and this was not long delayed.

It would not have been possible to have kept the whites off the Indian lands of Western Pennsylvania. But Thomas Penn made the great mistake of his life when he failed to approach the problem in the spirit of his father. It was difficult enough, and his efforts to solve it by cheating drunken Indians and misconstruing ancient agreements, thus securing a sort of title to their lands, while, appar-

ently, temporarily successful, brought on the inevitable harvest of misfortune. The Indians never broke treaties even when the future proved that they had had the worst of them. It was the purpose of the assembly throughout to treat them fairly, to keep rum from them, and to buy their lands and trading privileges openly and liberally. Unquestionably their friendship could thus have been secured and the French would have coquetted with them in vain. The undisturbed frontier of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1755 attests the success of this policy. The same causes would again have produced like effects.

The French built a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers in Pennsylvania territory, which they named Fort Du Quesne. Governor Hamilton urgently requested the assembly to provide him with funds to join with the Virginian expedition against this fort, but, giving various excuses, they did nothing. In the mean time the Virginian troops, afterwards reinforced with some from New York and South Carolina, with Colonel Washington second in command, set out to attack the fort. The death of the commanding officer gave the chief place to Washington. After some successes he met a force of thrice the number of French and Indians in the "Great Meadows." Washington built a stockade, but was unable to stand the attack. At night he surrendered, marching off with the honors of war, and was thanked by the Virginian assembly for his courage and prudence.

Again Governor Hamilton convened the assembly, and this time he would probably have received an appropriation had he not undertaken to amend the bill. The assembly resented his attack upon an established principle of English legislation, and again no money was granted.

Hamilton became tired of his unfortunate position as the agent of the proprietaries, while, to a certain extent, sympathizing with the assembly. As a Pennsylvanian he desired to live in harmony with his fellow-citizens, and saw no other recourse than to give up his governorship. This he did in 1754, and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris.

One event of Governor Hamilton's time is important to be remembered,—the change in the calendar. In 1752 the year was made by Act of Parliament to begin on January 1, instead of March 20, so that the double dating between these days was no longer necessary. The "first month" of the Quakers now became January instead of March. Moreover, to correct the old discrepancy of the Julian Calendar between the dates and the seasons, eleven days were cut out, and the next day after September 2 was to be September 14. The two systems were both used for a time, being designated by the letters O. S. and N. S.—old style and new style.

CHAPTER IX.

1754–1760.

Governor Morris—Contest with the Assembly—Second War with France—Braddock's Campaign—Frontier Warfare—Parties—Taxing the Proprietaries—Militia Laws—Resignation of Quakers—Indian Treaties—Franklin sent to England—Governors Denny and Hamilton.

THE assembly in 1754 passed a bill for forty thousand pounds of paper money, half of which should go to the governor for the king's use. This liberal appropriation was vetoed because Morris had instructions to assent to no paper money bill which had not been previously submitted to the king, and which ran longer than five years. As this would have surrendered a precious privilege, the assembly again refused, and the contest became almost as bitter between governor and assembly as against the French. The representatives of the people, elected yearly, and therefore closely expressing the popular will, said that it was better to have some savages on the frontiers than sacrifice the essential principles of liberty. Each side blamed the other for the neglect to provide defence.

In 1755 war between France and England was again declared. In anticipation of this, armies had been sent by both parties to America, the British under Major-General Braddock. The legislative differences prevented any aid in money from Pennsylvania, but the assembly voted a post-road towards the Ohio, and provisions for the troops. Wagons and pack-horses were raised through the energy of Franklin, who was royal postmaster-general, so that, as Braddock admitted, Pennsylvania did as much for his expedition as Virginia. The assembly repeatedly voted large sums, but the governor refused the conditions attached. Finally, the house, on its own credit, issued fifteen thousand

pounds, ten thousand of which were to be used to provision troops.

The history of Braddock's campaign is well known. He had left word that he would either capture the garrison and equipment of Fort Du Quesne, or if, as he expected, the French should retreat and destroy the fort, he would rebuild and resupply it. Dragging his artillery over the Alleghany mountains and marching his troops with military precision, he made about three miles a day. His horses, without grass, weakened, and his men became sick as they trudged along through the endless forest.

The Indians hovered about, picking off stragglers and, for the first time in the history of the province, scalping the frontier settlers. Washington finally prevailed upon Braddock to leave his artillery and press forward with twelve hundred men.

It is probable that the current story of an intentional ambush by the French is not correct. Braddock pushed along in good discipline with scouts thrown out till he reached a ford of the Monongahela, seven miles from Fort Du Quesne. The French were alarmed and could hardly prevail on the Indians to go out to meet the English. Finally about nine hundred, mostly Indians, under the command of Beaujeau, met Braddock's army just after it had come out of the ford, a meeting hardly expected by either party. The British army in solid ranks went forward to the attack, and the Canadian French fled and were not seen again that day. The Indians, however, knew exactly what to do. They had the advantage of a high hill on one side, and each Indian, selecting a tree or a log for a cover, sent his deadly fire into the close ranks of the British. The discipline of these regulars kept them in place as they fell side by side sending ineffectual volleys at the unseen enemy. Braddock did not shirk his duty, but exposed himself bravely as he encouraged his men, finally meeting death with his troops. Washington and his provincials protected the remnants of the fine army by fighting Indian fashion, and were themselves at one time fired upon by the regulars,

who supposed them to be part of the enemy. Dunbar, who commanded the rear-guard, with the artillery and baggage, when the fugitives reached his camp, ingloriously took flight, destroyed his stores, and found safety in Philadelphia. The whole frontier was exposed to Indian attack.

Led by French officers the Indians wreaked a bloody vengeance on English settlers. From Maine to Carolina the massacres of quiet frontiersmen and their families, in the most cruel forms of Indian warfare, went on with a system which showed one guiding intelligence back of it, using savage instincts for its means. The hatred of the English, revenge for their aggressions, the hope of recovering territory, and the pure love of war and rapine, sent into the hostile camp the old friends of Penn, the Delawares and Shawnees. A few Christian Indians, converted by the Moravians, were faithful, and were massacred at Gnadenhutten. The Forks of the Delaware were revisited by the Minisinks, and payment in Indian fashion exacted for past abuses. The long years of peace had found the frontier totally without preparation, and the isolated settlements from Easton to the Maryland boundary were an easy prey to an enemy coming in the night, burning house and stable, and shooting the inmates as they escaped, or piercing the heart of the ploughman, or ravaging a school-house and scalping both master and children.

The people came crowding eastward as fast as their means would carry them, crying for aid from the authorities. Almost every meeting of the council told of new murders, and heart-rending appeals for succor. During the fall of 1755 conditions were at their worst.

The house immediately voted fifty thousand pounds for the king's use, and as their favorite remedy, issues of paper money, was denied them, they directed that a tax be levied on all estates, real and personal, throughout the province, the proprietary estates not excepted. This the governor refused to accept, alleging the propriety and legality of exempting the estates of the Penns, which were now of immense value. In reply, the assembly distinguished be-

tween the official and private character of the proprietaries, and said that the private estates even of the king were taxed. They made an urgent plea to the governor for the sake of the common good to submit to this measure of justice. In their final address they say, "We are now to take our leave of the governor and, indeed, since he hopes no good from us nor we from him, 'tis time we should be parted. If our constituents disapprove of our conduct a few days will give them an opportunity of changing us by a new election."

The question now went to the people in the midst of the public excitement caused by Indian massacres and the difference between the governor and assembly. Party lines were closely drawn. The proprietary party included the Episcopalians of the city of Philadelphia and the Presbyterians of the country. They demanded an unconditional appropriation by the house and a vigorous martial policy. In a general way their platform was the close limitation of paper money issues, the right of the proprietaries to tie up their governor by secret instructions, and the exemption of their estates from all taxation. The popular party included the Quakers, now no longer divided, and the Germans. In the present state of affairs their representatives were willing to appropriate money for defence, but did not consider the exigency so great that the important liberties of the province and the control over revenue bills should be sacrificed. Many of the Quakers were absolutely pacific, some going so far as to object to the measures already taken and to be taken for the defence of the province. The Germans were also pacific, and they had a wholesome fear, brought from their fatherland, of military proscription and taxes. They were quite willing the Quakers should hold the offices, but the utmost exertions of the governor and his friends could not induce them to desert their party. The Quaker representatives were elected by the largest majorities ever known, twenty-six of the thirty-six members being of that faith, and the remaining ten, including Franklin, in substantial sympathy with them in regard to most of the points at issue.

Thus strengthened by popular approval the assembly prepared a bill for granting sixty thousand pounds to the king's use in bills of credit, redeemable in four years by a tax on all estates. This embraced the proprietary domains, but enacted that should these be declared legally exempt the money was to be returned. Each party was afraid of some advantage for the other, and nothing was done till the proprietaries in England, to stifle a clamor against them on both sides of the sea, *donated* five thousand pounds for purposes of defence. The assembly then completed the bill, making it fifty-five thousand pounds and exempting proprietary estates.

This money was largely spent in erecting and garrisoning a chain of forts along the Kittatinny hills, extending from the Delaware River to the Maryland boundary.

So far the assembly had preserved their privileges; just elected by the people, they had grounds for saying, "We have taken every step in our power consistent with the just rights of the freemen of Pennsylvania for their (frontiersmen's) relief, and we have reason to believe that in the midst of their distresses they themselves do not wish us to go further. Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

They went further than any assembly before them had done, and enacted a militia law for those "willing and desirous" of bearing arms. It began with the declaration, "Whereas this province was settled (and the majority of the assembly have ever since been) of the people called Quakers, who though they do not as the world is now circumstanced condemn the use of arms in others yet are principled against bearing arms themselves," and then proceeded to lay down the rules for the organization.

In fact, the representatives went further than the stricter part of their constituency approved, and late in 1755 a petition came from the prominent Friends of Philadelphia expressing willingness to be taxed indefinitely for conciliating the Indians, or to relieve distress, or other benevolent

purposes, but objecting to paying war taxes, and indicating an intention to refuse and take the consequences. The assembly received this with scant courtesy, and voted it "an unadvised and indiscreet application to the house at this time."

On the other hand, a strong petition, signed by many influential men of the proprietary party, was sent to the king, setting forth the defenceless condition of the province, and charging it to the "majority of men whose principles are against bearing arms, who find means to thrust themselves into the assembly." They ask that such be kept out by the imposition of an oath.

Indeed, the days of Quaker government were about over. The crisis came when the governor and council (William Logan, the son of James Logan, alone dissenting) declared war in the spring of 1756 against the Delawares and Shawnees, and offered rewards for the scalps of men and women Indians. The position of the Friends had been difficult before, but to be a part of a government openly at war was a step too far. Six of them resigned from the assembly, and were succeeded by those of other denominations. Their meetings, encouraged by advice from London Friends, brought great pressure to bear on the other representatives to follow the same course. Several refused re-election in October, 1756, and four others resigned after the house was organized, leaving only twelve Quakers in the assembly.

While this number was increased occasionally in the following twenty years, it never amounted to a controlling majority. The Meetings steadily discouraged their members holding office. Besides those offices that involved administering oaths and those that necessitated voting war taxes, there were but few left. The year 1756 marks the final loss of control of the assembly of the province founded by their great leader, and which they had managed with large success for seventy-four years.

But while the *personnel* of the assembly changed, its policy, save in the matter of rather more freedom in voting appropriations for military measures, did not. The same issues

were fought, mostly to a satisfactory conclusion, under the leadership of Franklin. The same voters sustained the party leaders at the polls, and the anti-proprietary feeling did not slumber in the years to come. In common speech there was still the "Quaker assembly," dictated largely by Quaker sentiment till the Revolution destroyed all the old landmarks. References of this kind are common in histories of the times, but if it was Quaker policy, its chief actors were found outside the Society of Friends, which through its constituted authorities most strenuously strove, and in the main successfully, to keep its members out of office.

By the summer of 1756 the alarm in Pennsylvania had somewhat subsided. It was seen that there was not much danger from the French. The forts and the volunteers had somewhat reassured the people, and efforts were set on foot to placate the Delawares and Shawnees. The Friends formed the "Friendly Association," agreeing to pay in the interests of peace "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require." The governor considered them impertinent, but at a conference in Easton in 1756, as well as in succeeding ones, they performed valuable service. They succeeded to a large extent in regaining the confidence of the Indians, and became a valuable go-between in the negotiations, concluding the treaty by valuable presents which left the Indians in a good humor. They went off with the intention of bringing others into the league. The great leader, Tedyuscung, who at Easton had asserted, stamping his feet on the ground whence his tribe had been driven, "The very ground on which we stand was dishonestly taken from us," became a Christian, and exerted his influence for peace.

In order to secure the alliance of the Ohio Indians, the Association sent Christian Frederick Post, a heroic Moravian, who had lived among them, on an unarmed mission. Under the guns of Fort Du Quesne, against the influence of the French, who had set a price upon his head, he succeeded in persuading them to give up the war.

Another and larger conference was held at Easton in 1757. Three hundred chiefs were present. All complaints were heard. The Albany purchase was atoned for, and even the Walking Purchase was tacitly admitted to be wrong. A peace was made, and wampum belts exchanged in great profusion. Post again went west, and, in spite of French opposition, the other tribes entered into the compact.

In the mean time a force of English soldiers under General Forbes was marching towards the contested fort. A detachment pressed ahead to a hill in the present city of Pittsburg overlooking the fort. The French attacked them, and again their skill in Indian fighting overcame the British regulars, two hundred and seventy men were killed, and the rest retreated. A few weeks after, the main body advanced in overwhelming numbers, and the French, who were really very weak from the detachment of their Indian allies, abandoned the fort, burning it and its perishable equipment, and throwing the cannon into the river. Fort Du Quesne was no more. When rebuilt it became Fort Pitt.

While this for the time practically ended serious war in Pennsylvania, it was not till the energy and resources of William Pitt were placed at the head of the English government that peace could be secured. Wolfe brilliantly took Quebec and lost his life in 1759, the next year Montreal fell, and the French Canadian empire was at an end.

The anti-proprietary feeling in the country was so bitter that the assembly, finding there was no prospect of relief from the secret instructions, the exemption of parliamentary estates from taxation, the restrictions on paper money issues, and the claims for a share in disbursing all money raised by taxation, determined to appeal against the proprietaries to the crown. In 1757 Norris and Franklin were appointed commissioners, but Norris declined and Franklin went alone. He was already famous for his scientific studies and his political influence in the colony, and this was the beginning of his diplomatic career.

Another illustration of the partisan feeling of the times

is found in the treatment of William Smith, the provost of the College of Philadelphia. William Moore, judge of Chester County, had numerous charges of misconduct brought against him, and the assembly summoned him to appear and answer them. He denied its right to investigate the case, and refused to appear. Upon this they proceeded to examine him in his absence, pronounced him guilty, and requested the governor to remove him. Moore printed a reply, violently attacking the house, and this reply was said to have been written by the provost.

The tone of the paper was unquestionably disrespectful, reflecting, probably unjustly and falsely, upon the motives and acts of the assembly and its members; but when for this they sent the provost to prison without bail, and gave him the opportunity to make a brilliant and dramatic defence, greatly to the delight of his friends, they committed an impolitic as well as an unjustifiable act. The matter was made worse by being taken up by succeeding houses, which stretched their prerogatives by again imprisoning him. Finally, in 1758, Smith appealed to the king in council, where he was triumphantly sustained and the assembly rebuked for the assumption of improper powers. For this neither did the assembly care, nor the people, who returned nearly all of them at the next election.

Governor Morris, who had earned, partly by his unfortunate position and partly by his own folly, the great dislike of the people, was superseded in 1756, by William Denny. The new governor was received by the popular party with high hopes of better things; but, tied down by his bond and his secret instructions, he could not do much better than Morris except by showing a better temper, and this was not perceptibly an improvement. In 1757, Isaac Norris, elected for many years unanimously as speaker of the assembly, was forced to decline on account of ill health.

In August, 1757, Franklin began his work in England by a remonstrance addressed to the proprietaries. He probably did not expect this to have direct effect, but desired to place

himself on record as being refused by the proper authorities before appealing to the higher. This brought out, eighteen months later, a letter to the assembly in which the proprietaries reasserted their rights in all the points at issue. In reply, that body sent to the governor a bill subjecting the proprietary estates with other property to taxation, which the governor signed, giving as a reason that the critical condition of the province demanded the sacrifice.

To aid in the creation of public opinion in England, Franklin wrote, or had written, a "Historical Review of Pennsylvania." It was a partisan document, filled with the complaints of the assembly at the worst times, drawn from its proceedings under Evans, Morris, and the most blundering governors. The book has been often referred to as an historical authority, but its intense one-sidedness should be borne in mind. It was written to be effective, and, like all of Franklin's works, accomplished its end.

When the tax bill came to England, Franklin and the proprietaries were heard before the Privy Council. The agent of the assembly conducted the case with great skill and power, and having consented to enter into an engagement that the proprietary estates should be fairly treated in their assessment, that the unlocated grounds should not be taxed, and that the governor's consent should be made necessary to the application of all money raised under the act, the decision was in his favor and the bill received royal sanction.

The amount paid by the proprietaries was small, and the house secured Franklin in his engagements, which were fairly carried out. But the proprietaries were beaten, and their tendency to encroach on popular liberties had received a severe check. Franklin was the hero of the day, and was made the agent of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia, as well as of Pennsylvania.

The result came about through Governor Denny's willingness to disobey instructions, and this willingness is accounted for in the following minute of the house: "The governor, by Mr. Secretary, sent down the supply bill with

a verbal message that his Honor will pass the same. . . . The House then taking into consideration the Governor's support . . . resolved that the sum of £1000 be allowed and given to the Honorable William Denny, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of this province for his support for the current year." He received a like sum soon after for signing a bill issuing paper money. Denny was a spendthrift, and was reduced to financial straits, and, though under bond of five thousand pounds to obey the proprietaries' instructions, he found the maintenance of his official standing without salary so inconvenient that he took the risks and had his reward from the assembly. He was immediately discharged by his employers and an attempt was made to sue out his bond, but this was given up and James Hamilton was persuaded to take his place. This was in October, 1759.

CHAPTER X.

1760–1764.

Pontiac's Conspiracy—Bouquet's Campaign—John Penn—Murder of Conestoga Indians—Paxton Riot—Dislike of the Proprietaries—Agitation for a Crown Colony—John Dickinson—Joseph Galloway.

In making the usual military appropriation of 1760 the house coupled it with conditions taxing the proprietary estates and retaining the control of expenditure. Governor Hamilton objected, but the house remaining firm, he finally signed, protesting that the circumstances of the state extorted his assent.

Notwithstanding the great expenses, Pennsylvania was now in easy financial circumstances. She received from the crown an appropriation of twenty-six thousand pounds for her share of money advanced for the general defence, and felt herself rich enough to make a generous contribution to Boston, for sufferings caused by a great fire.

While the French were conquered in America in 1760, and their army transported to France, it was not till November, 1762, that peace was declared, and not till the following year that the treaty of Paris definitely gave Canada to the British crown. The colonists now looked for peace. The French were no more, and the Indians were either conquered or bought. The settlers again pushed out into the woods, and sounds of civilization were heard in the deserted clearings. There was, however, to be another Indian war.

Pontiac was the chief of the Ottawas, who inhabited the shores of the great lakes. He was now about forty years old, and had been the ally of the French in command of his tribe against Braddock and other English commanders. When the French were beaten he refused to acknowledge defeat, and in 1762 held a great council of Indian tribes.

He had received, he said, a tradition which was to be held sacred. Indians were no more to depend on the whites, they were to use no more white implements, and drink no more whiskey. The English were the great enemies and, were to be cut off by a general and unexpected movement against them. The red-stained tomahawk and the wampum war-belt were borne by messengers to all the tribes from Ottawa to the lower Mississippi, and it was agreed that by June, 1763, there should be war along the whole frontier. The plan was conceived with secrecy and with statesmanlike skill, and the attack was made on unsuspecting garrisons. Eight of the twelve outlying forts attacked were taken, and scalping parties ravaged the whole border. Settlers were killed and settlements burned and levelled. The orders were to make complete destruction, and in Pennsylvania, all west of the Susquehanna, except a few fortified places, was given over to them, the inhabitants flying eastward. The fugitives crowded the towns and every available place. They were without food, and were relieved by the charitable efforts of the Philadelphians.

Fort Pitt was one of the few frontier forts which held out. It was surrounded by a howling mob of savages, fortunately without implements of siege, but settling down with steady purpose to dig trenches and pick off or starve out the garrison. The fort was strong and well provisioned, and the knowledge of the fate in store for them in case of capture nerved the soldiers to their best efforts.

In the mean time Colonel Henry Bouquet started with five hundred regulars, just returned from the West Indies, and infirm with disease, from Carlisle to the rescue. The Indians, outnumbering them many fold, marched east to meet them, and Braddock's defeat seemed about to be repeated.

As Bouquet approached the fatal field, the Indians attacked; from front, side, and rear came the secret fire. He drew his men into a circle and saw them falling about him. But he was a better general than Braddock. Feigning a retreat with part of his force, the Indians came out of their

hiding-places to attack the weakened lines. The retreating companies circled around and fell on the Indian flank. The savages fled past the fort shaking their bloody trophies in the faces of the garrison, and Fort Pitt was relieved. Bouquet was the hero of the day.

The feeling against the Indians as a result of this outbreak was exceptionally bitter. The sufferers on the frontier and their friends, goaded to fury by the savagery they saw and heard of, demanded the utter destruction of the red men. Some of their ministers went so far as to say that the wars indicated the Divine displeasure for the treaties made by the government. They took to themselves the command given to the Israelites "to utterly destroy" the races inhabiting the land. These frontiersmen were largely Presbyterian from the north of Ireland, a vigorous and militant people, the very antipodes of the Quakers. Their vengeance produced most unfortunate results.

In 1763 John Penn, the son of Richard, was made lieutenant-governor. Among the many addresses congratulating him on his accession was one from the remnants of the tribe of Conestoga Indians. These were the descendants of a once powerful nation, which had met William Penn when he first landed and had made a treaty with him. He had allowed them to live on one of his manors in Lancaster County, and since then they had been to some extent pensioners of the government. They had fallen victims to white vices and diseases, and the little company which addressed John Penn now numbered only twenty Indians, six of them men, the others women and children. They had so far departed from Indian ways as to gain their living by making brooms and baskets, and peddling them among the farm-houses. One of them had been charged with murder, and it was suspected that they had given information to more martial Indians. These accusations were not proven, and they were generally considered by their German neighbors to be harmless and worthless.

In the general excitement, the people of Paxton and Donegal, near the present Harrisburg, undertook to begin the

extermination with these Conestoga Indians. Their pastor, John Elder, who had many a time preached to them, rifle in the pulpit, placed himself in their way and besought them to stop, but brushing him aside, fifty-seven of them came to the manor and wreaked their fatal vengeance on three men, two women, and a boy, who were all they found at home. The other fourteen were out selling brooms, and were conveyed by friends to the Lancaster jail for protection.

The "Paxton Boys," as they are called, rode in full daylight into Lancaster, crushed down the doors of the jail, and with their hatchets slaughtered the rest of the tribe. Then, without disguise, they mounted and rode away.

There was much excitement in the eastern counties. Governor Penn issued proclamations, calling on magistrates to arrest the murderers. Franklin, just returned from his successful mission to England, and stronger than ever in popular estimation, wrote a "Narrative" which, with mingled indignation and sarcasm, told of the ancient treaties to which these Indians had but just repledged themselves to the grandson of William Penn, and the brave work of the rangers who, while professing to be doing God's commands, had murdered women and children.

But while Franklin could win admiration in Philadelphia, the neighbors of the culprits were in entire sympathy with them, and no magistrate dared issue a warrant. It was known who constituted the party, but no judicial action was ever taken.

Emboldened by immunity they concluded to carry their operations into the enemy's country. A band of one hundred and forty Moravian Indians had been brought into Philadelphia. This was done partly for their own safety and partly because it was feared they would join their hostile brethren. To make them still more secure they were sent on to New York, but the governor there refusing to receive them, they had to be brought back. They were placed in barracks in the northern part of the city and their wants supplied by the Quakers.

A body of two hundred or three hundred frontiersmen,

magnified by accounts into five times the number, took up their march to Philadelphia with the avowed intention to kill the Indians, and the Quakers also should that pacific sect stand in the way. Israel Pemberton, the head of the Friendly Association, was selected for special punishment, and left the city. They had grievances formulated in their meetings which they also intended to present to the authorities. Quickly marching to the Schuylkill and finding all boats removed and the river swollen by the rains, they went up to the present Norristown and followed down the left bank of the river, stopping at Germantown.

The governor called on the inhabitants to arm and protect their houses and the Indians. Thousands of them responded, and in a February rain-storm camped around the barracks. The court-house and other public buildings, and even the great Friends' meeting-house, were opened for their reception, and through two nights they awaited the attack.

At one time they thought it was coming. A body of troops were marching down Second Street. Every soldier was ready to fire, when the supposed attacking party proved to be Germans coming in to assist in the defence.

The governor sent Franklin to the camp of the rioters to ascertain their demands and attempt a settlement. They drew up a paper in such good form as to prove they were not all ignorant backwoodsmen, and presented a number of grievances on behalf of themselves and the border counties. They complained of the unequal representation in the assembly, the three old counties having twenty-six of the thirty-six members apportioned to them, which, with the present population, was unjust; that there was a proposition to try the Conestoga murderers outside Lancaster County; that the hundreds of families reduced to distress by the border warfare were neglected, while the band of Indians, themselves allied with the cruel perpetrators of the outrages, was fed in the city; that war in general was against a whole nation, and no part of the Indians should be secured from attack; that it was unsafe to allow any Indians to live in the inhabited parts of the province, for all alike were

perfidious; that the rewards for scalps had been withdrawn, "which damped the spirits of many brave men who were willing to venture their lives against the enemy."

Having thus formulated their grievances and found that the whole city was in arms against them, they disbanded and went home. A company of them rode through the streets to see the town, and the citizen soldiers, partly scattered, again rushed to arms. Thus the whole matter ended in a fiasco.

Among the volunteers on this occasion were about two hundred Quakers, mostly young men, who, in the excitement of the time, took up arms to defend their elder brethren, their Indian dependents, and the peace of the city. This opened one of the greatest pamphlet wars the province had seen. There were evidently many in the city who sympathized with the Paxton demands, and while not showing themselves during the disturbance, they came forward afterwards with apologies and explanations, combined with attacks upon the Quakers. This body, they said, held principles opposed to government. The honest ones recognized this and took no part. But that their pacific principles were hypocritical was shown by their loan of the meeting-house and their activity in military defence whenever trial came. Some pamphlets were scurrilous, and indicated venal or immoral reasons for the Quaker liking of the Indians.

The Quakers themselves did not write, but they found plenty of defenders who claimed that the Indians were quiet enough when properly treated; that the Presbyterians had improperly taken their lands and were continually fomenting trouble along the borders. From this the discussion went into the evils and merits of those two bodies, at that time so diverse in their theology, their habits, and their manner of looking at public questions, the Presbyterian and the Quaker.

A third party, led by Franklin, also sent out its broadsides. The writers were not peace men, but in this disturbance they had no words strong enough to condemn the murderers of the peaceful Conestogas, and the attack upon

Philadelphia, acts which would bring disgrace on the province and could not possibly be defended.

The outcome of the "Paxton Riots," as they have become known in history, was the granting of only one of the demands, and this was, strange to say, the renewal of the rewards for scalps for male and female Indians, truly an anomalous bounty from the grandson of William Penn.

The rioters settled back into their homes, the Quakers gently disciplined their unfaithful members, men felt their minds relieved by the war of pamphlets, but many private letters as well as public documents still attest the deep excitement of those bitter February days. Another question, not dissociated but of larger import, now arose to demand the best thoughts of all.

John Penn was received by the people with all outward marks of respect. Public and religious bodies sent their congratulations, and a severe shock of earthquake on the day of his landing was nature's welcome. Back of these formal ceremonies there was a real expectation that a member of the Penn family would be relieved of some of the instructions which had vexed other governors, and that the assembly could live in some harmony with him.

These hopes were soon dispelled. It was recognized now that proprietary lands should be taxed. In order to avoid discrimination against them it had been decided in 1757 that these lands should be assessed at the lowest rate of the uncultivated lands of other owners. When a bill for raising fifty thousand pounds to support Colonel Bouquet's expedition was prepared, it was passed by the assembly with alacrity. The governor insisted that in making provisions for this collection the agreement of 1757 should be construed to mean that the Penn lands, no matter what their value, should pay no heavier taxes than the lowest of all other lands. The assembly, with more show of reason, explained the agreement as saying that the Penn lands should be assessed with the lowest lands of their class. All other lands were classified, and they thought that the proprietary lands should come under the same arrangement. The exigencies

of the case demanded some one to surrender, and the assembly gave up. It was a petty demand of the proprietaries, and the small amount saved did not nearly compensate for the loss of respect and influence which followed. No one expected the golden days to come after this, and party lines were more strenuous than ever.

There seemed to be no recourse for the people from the exasperating opposition of the proprietaries but to attempt to have Pennsylvania made a crown colony and her government taken away from the Penn family. This project was now cautiously broached in the assembly. In order to ascertain whether it had the support of the people the assembly decided to issue an address, setting forth the evils of proprietary rule, and then to adjourn to consult their constituents.

The address asserted that the proprietaries, so far as they were land-owners, were legally like other owners, and they had no right to use their powers in the government to protect their private interests. It was high presumption for any citizen to interfere in government affairs between crown and people, and by secret instructions and penal bonds attempt to force legislation. The assembly had been most liberal in appropriations, and in return the present proprietaries had consistently endeavored to curtail the liberties which their father had granted. They had multiplied dram shops unduly to enjoy the increased revenues from licenses. They had reserved large tracts of the best lands for future markets, and this explained the sparse frontier settlements and their defenceless condition. Notwithstanding these peculiar privileges they still demanded release from taxation, and took advantage of the necessities of the province to enforce their pecuniary demands. The appointment of judges and the whole executive administration being in their hands, combined with their vast estates, they would in time become a power, dangerous alike to the prerogatives of the crown and the liberties of the people. Hence, the address concluded, the powers of government should be separated from the ownership of this immense

private property and safely placed in the hands of the king.

This address was unanimously adopted, and the assembly adjourned to consult the people "whether a humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate protection and government by completing the agreement heretofore made with the first proprietor for the sale of the government to the crown or otherwise, as to his goodness and wisdom should seem meet."

The petitions which this address drew out were all in favor of the change. The other party hardly seemed alive to the issue. The assembly on meeting therefore resolved to proceed and adopted an address to the king, speaking of the recent riots and their probable continuance, and asking the king to make proper compensation to the proprietaries and *resume* the government of the province.

The appearance of this address immediately crystallized parties. The Episcopalians, who in early days, under Quarry, considered a crown colony the acme of their desires, now opposed the movement. They had what they wanted, for the Penns, now members of their church, filled all the executive and judicial positions with their representatives. The Presbyterians were opposed to it because the proprietary cause had meant vigorous warfare against Indians and French, and because they were assumed to be responsible for the riots complained of, and because a crown colony meant the end of the liberties they had enjoyed under the Penn charter. The Quakers were divided. Most of them entered into the plan heartily, and were Franklin's main supporters. A few of the older and steadier members, like Isaac Norris, who resigned the speakership rather than sign the address, saw that it meant the death of the venerable charter and possibly an established church, and were disposed to combat a while longer the proprietary evils. The Germans, as usual, sided with the Quakers.

In the discussion in the assembly two men whose future careers were important factors in history were prominent exponents of the two sides.

John Dickinson was perhaps the most influential American through the pre-revolutionary days. He was the son of a planter whose home was on the eastern shore of Maryland. The father was desirous that his son should be well educated, and partly for this purpose bought a large estate near Dover, Delaware, when John was eight years old. Here he became judge of the county court and a man of prominence. For the next ten years the boy was under the care of a tutor who filled his mind with high ideals and aided him to secure an English style remarkably simple, elegant, and effective, which no one of his day, except, perhaps, Franklin, equalled, and which made him easily the "Penman of the Revolution."

Ten years of close legal and historical study followed in the Philadelphia office of the first lawyer of the day, in the Inns of Court of London, and again in his own modest start at practice in Philadelphia. His well-trained and logical mind, his conservative and orderly tendencies, and his Quaker associations made him a valuable recruit to the cause of moderate resistance which was to characterize the Pennsylvania colonists.

His interests were political rather than legal, and for a political career he had equipped himself by a painstaking preparation in historical and logical study. In 1760 he was made a member of the Delaware Assembly, and two years later, at the age of thirty, of that of Pennsylvania.

It required not a little fortitude for this young student of law, with his fortune to make, to come out on the unpopular side. In an elegant and cogent speech he made not a defence of the proprietaries, whose conduct he admitted to be indefensible, but a plea against the worse evils of royal government to which the people were exposing themselves. He pleaded for the old charter and the liberties it gave them, and asked if in any of the royal colonies there was much real freedom. He hinted at a possible church establishment and

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a standing army, and pertinently asked whether the crown had not supported the proprietaries in their worst claims. "In seeking a precarious, hasty, violent remedy for the present partial disorder we are sure of exposing the whole body to danger."

Few would say in the light of following events that Dickinson was wrong. The proprietaries were better masters than the king would have been, but the assembly was guided by present feelings. Its position was expressed by the gentleman who was to make the reply to the effective argument just delivered.

Joseph Galloway was also a native of Maryland, and had come to Philadelphia to practise law, in which he was eminently successful. He was learned, rich, and conservative; and till his espousal of the British side in the Revolution drove him from the country, an influential citizen. His argument was devoted to showing that neither policy nor character would be likely to induce such a king as George III. and such a parliament as the English Parliament to do anything to destroy the liberties of the province. Colonial success in the future would be dependent on the proper treatment of existing colonies. The king was a good king, and the parliament a just and friendly parliament.

The two speeches were issued for popular consumption. Dickinson's introduction was written by Provost Smith, and Galloway's by Franklin.

When the vote was taken only three assemblymen stood with Dickinson.

The election of 1764 was fought out on this issue. The proprietary party rallied all its forces and defeated Franklin and Samuel Rhoads in the city of Philadelphia, by the narrow margin of twenty-five votes in four thousand polled, and Galloway also lost his place. On the other side, Dickinson was defeated, and did not return till 1770, when events had vindicated his position. On the whole, a slight gain of votes was made by the proprietary party, though they still had not more than one-third the assembly. Franklin, though bitterly opposed by them, was made agent to present

the subject to the king and his advisers, and immediately sailed to England.

In the mean time party spirit had cooled; the wisdom of the movement became a matter of doubt in the minds of sober men. Quakers recovered their veneration for the old charter, and finally the assembly directed Franklin to move cautiously and to secure all proper liberties to the people before making the transfer. Indeed, they authorized him not to present the matter at all if circumstances seemed unfavorable.

The resolutions never passed out of Franklin's hands. When he reached England every one was talking of the Stamp Act. It was no time to enlarge the powers of the crown. Though succeeding assemblies endorsed the change, there was no serious complaint that their agent did not press the business to success. The events which followed in rapid succession drove it from the public mind.

CHAPTER XI.

1764–1776.

Union of the Colonies—English Aggression—The Stamp Act—Stamp-Act Congress—Writings of Dickinson—Non-importation—Paul Revere's Mission—Joseph Reed—Charles Thomson—Thomas Mifflin—First Continental Congress—Franklin comes Home—Governor Penn—Second Continental Congress—Sentiment of Pennsylvania—Position of the Quakers—Agitation for Independence—Articles of Confederation—Reorganization of the Government of Pennsylvania—Declaration of Independence—Death of Penn's Charter.

WE now approach the series of events which directly led to the American Revolution. There was as yet no sentiment for independence. It required ten years of unwise exactions on the part of England to develop this. During this time the lesson was being learned that each colony could not be as it had been since the settlement, a separate government, working out its own internal problems. Community of interests was fused by English attacks upon all alike, and the necessity for union against a common enemy.

There were various forms of government in the colonies. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the governors were appointed by the proprietaries; in Rhode Island and Connecticut elected by the people; in all the others appointed by the crown. But in all cases the thoughts of the people were free; they had developed a system of local self-government to which they strongly held, and their legislative bodies were really representative of the people. They were not inclined to yield one iota of their privileges, and on this point the Puritan of New England, the Quaker of Pennsylvania, and the Churchman and Huguenot of the South were willing to join hands; but all conceived that an overthrow of an English ministry, and a revolution in the thoughts of the English people and the English throne, would be the only revolutions needed.

The governors sided with the oppressors, and sent home bad accounts of the character of the people. The ministry and the king were foolishly insistent on supposed rights, and receded from their position just enough to encourage and develop the spirit of colonial resistance. Thus the gap became wider as the years passed by.

Various plans were devised for a union of the colonies. The first was that proposed by William Penn in 1696, which involved a central parliament in NewYork, made up of two delegates from each colony, of course in subordination to Britain. Many English statesmen desired union for simplicity and efficiency of government, but the idea of union among the people of the colonies was a thought of slow development.

The first actual attempt resulted in the meeting at Albany, in 1754, of a congress of colonies, to consider measures for concerted action against the French and their Indian allies. Incidentally, a plan of union was adopted, drawn up by Franklin, which was vigorously repudiated by the legislatures of all the colonies represented, seven in number.

The colonies did not seriously resist the Navigation Acts which decreed that commerce was to be carried on in English vessels, and passed through English hands before going to America, from whatever part of the world it might come. These were vexatious restrictions, but were assumed to be within the power of the crown. Philadelphia, the chief commercial city, was the greatest sufferer, yet she offered no strong resistance. Smuggling increased and the profits of legitimate trade were diminished, but the merchants of all the towns grumbled and yielded. But when, in 1763, Charles Townshend announced that all charters ought to be annulled and a standing army maintained in America, he awoke a spirit which was quiet only because it was not believed that he expressed the sentiment of the ministry.

The first step towards this end was the imposition of a tax to help defray the expenses of the French wars in America. There was something plausible in this. The wars were for the benefit of the colonies, and, if the matter

had been properly gone about, it is not unlikely they would have given a considerable sum. It is true the colonies had contributed liberally. Some of them went heavily into debt, and the parliament had acknowledged its obligation by payment to some of them at the close of the war. But so important was it to them to be relieved of harassment on the borders, and to be allowed to expand westward, that almost any amount of money England chose to collect might be reasonably urged as no more than due.

When, therefore, in March, 1764, a bill passed Parliament requiring all legal documents in America, after the lapse of a year, to be provided with stamps, it was not a question of money which aroused public opinion from Massachusetts to Georgia, it was the right of England to impose such a tax, or any tax, without American consent. Beginning with Massachusetts, almost all the provincial assemblies, including that of Pennsylvania, sent simple and dignified remonstrances, protesting against the assumption of this right.

Franklin, who as agent of the Pennsylvania Assembly had attempted to break down the proprietary control of the government of the province, was instructed to protest most vigorously against the new tax. He wrote back advising acquiescence, and secured the appointment of a friend, John Hughes, as stamp agent. But for once he mistook the temper of his colony.

The assembly adopted resolutions declaring that the province had always cheerfully contributed to the royal needs, and would do so in future; that its inhabitants were free men under a free constitution, and entitled to all the liberties of British subjects anywhere; that it was one of the essential principles of liberty to be taxed only by their own consent through their legal representatives in the assembly; which privilege they proposed to maintain and transmit to their posterity. At the same time they appointed delegates to a stamp-act congress to be convened at New York, at the suggestion of Massachusetts, in October, 1765. These were Dickinson, Fox, Bryan, and Morton.

The same month the ship bearing the stamped papers for New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland arrived at Philadelphia. Flags were hung at half-mast, bells were tolled, and a great meeting was held in the State house to consider how to prevent the distribution of the stamps. A delegation was sent to Mr. Hughes, requesting him to resign. This he refused to do, but agreed to take no immediate action, and not to assume his office, until the people permitted it. The stamps were kept on shipboard. The newspapers, which needed stamps to make their issue lawful, printed their own obituary notices; their death, however, proving to be only a brief suspension of life, the resurrection plea being "No stamped paper to be had." Legal business ceased, and the public offices were closed for six months.

As a matter of reprisal the Philadelphia merchants agreed to the absolute non-importation of English goods, and to refrain from the eating of sheep, so that woollen industries might be developed.

The stamp-act congress met, nine colonies being represented. A petition to the king and a memorial to Parliament, probably written by John Dickinson, were adopted and signed, protesting seriously against taxation by English authority. These were afterwards endorsed by the Pennsylvania Assembly.

The evident determination of the colonies not to pay the tax, the appeals of friendly Englishmen who appreciated the motives of the colonists, the destruction of English trade caused by the non-importation and non-consumption resolutions, brought England to her senses. Pitt, from his sick bed in the House of Commons, thundered against the stupidity of the ministers, and rejoiced in American resistance. The act was repealed after an inglorious existence of six months.

Great were the rejoicings. In Philadelphia there were bonfires and entertainments, but no disorder and no arrogance of triumph. Pitt was the hero of the day, and even George III. enjoyed a little brief popularity. The whole

course of Philadelphia was firm, yet moderate. The agents were not maltreated or driven out as in other colonies, the "Sons of Liberty" destroyed no crown property, and the repeal brought no intemperate demonstrations. But there was a perfect comprehension of the principles involved, and an unyielding disposition to use no stamps and admit no compromise. The publications of the day reflected an intelligent and determined public opinion, before which England had no choice but to yield.

She yielded the act, but in the same breath asserted her right to tax America as she pleased. In the joy of repeal this declaration was overlooked by the colonists. It bore fruit, however, in a few months. Relinquishing as impolitic, internal taxation, Townshend's influence with Parliament was sufficient to enact in 1767 a system of duties on the wine, oil, and fruits of Portugal, and on all glass, paper, lead, and tea imported; and what added to the objectionable features of the bill, the revenue was to go towards the payment of fixed salaries of governors and judges, thus making them independent of popular approval. Townshend died in a few months after the passage of these acts, but George III., decorous and industrious, but dense and short-sighted, made them his own, with Lord North as adviser and executive.

Massachusetts, under the leadership of Samuel Adams, was again foremost in resistance, and sent a circular letter asking the other colonies to co-operate. The Pennsylvania Assembly promptly agreed. In a respectful address to the king this body called his attention to their struggles to settle the country and add to his dominions, to their excellent constitution, and to their possession of all the rights of Englishmen. "But most gracious sovereign," they concluded, "should the Commons of Great Britain persist in depriving us of this most invaluable principle (the right to levy their own taxes) it will be with the deepest affliction that the people of these colonies must perceive so unfortunate a distinction established between your majesty's loyal British and American subjects; leaving the one in possession of all

those rights which are necessary to the most perfect political liberty, and the other bereaved of that which alone constitutes the foundation and security of all their other privileges."

The man who guided the pen of this address and did more than any one to form public sentiment in America and to show the true principles of resistance was John Dickinson. His "Farmer's Letters," beginning in 1768, were widely read and greatly admired in America and England. They were the appeals of a statesman, not a demagogue, to conserve the liberties which Englishmen have always considered their due, by methods which Englishmen have found successful in the past. Unqualifiedly rebuking the tyranny which had attempted to impose on America the duties on paper, glass, and tea, he appeals to England to meet the colonies in a conciliatory spirit, and remove the obnoxious taxes. With a veiled hint as to the possibility of ultimate armed resistance, he yet counsels his brethren to carry on their opposition by legal and moderate, if firm measures. "The cause of liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those who engage in it should breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity, and magnanimity."

Again the colonists agreed to non-importation of English goods as the best means to bring the ministry and Parliament to terms. Home manufacturers were encouraged and there was a universal agreement to do without the taxed articles. Again the English yielded to the cry of their merchants, and in 1770 took off all the offending taxes except that on tea; a foolish reservation, which only exasperated the Americans without producing any revenue. It was enough to induce New York to break the non-importation agreement, much to the disgust of Philadelphia. "You had better send us your old liberty pole," said the Quaker City, "for you clearly have no further use for it." The defection of New York, however, broke the bond, and,

except tea, importation was generally renewed. This article was obtained by smuggling from the continent.

So matters went on till 1773. The East India Tea Company had lost its American trade and was in a bad way. The king evolved the ingenious idea that if tea were made cheap enough the Americans would buy it, paying the duty, and so the principle, for which they contended, would fall to the ground. He took off all duties which tea paid on entering England so that it could be exported to America and sold cheaper than the smuggled tea from Holland, and then he resolved to settle the matter with one grand stroke. He sent vessels to the four great ports,—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The dramatic conduct of the Bostonians is well known and was really the first militant act of the Revolution. In Philadelphia a mass meeting was held at which firm but temperate resolutions were adopted, declaring that no government had a right to take their property without their consent; that the tax on tea was such an attempt; that it was the duty of all Americans steadily to resist; that any one who would aid in the sale was an enemy to his country; that the consignees of the East India Company be requested to resign their appointment. This request was complied with, and private persons expecting other merchandise agreed to forego receiving it. As the ship had not been cleared, the Quaker firm to which the tea was consigned advanced the captain a sum of money to purchase necessary provisions, and the ship sailed back to England, while a song of triumph was heard in Philadelphia. Not a chest of tea was sold in any American town.

Then came, early in 1774, the closing of the port of Boston. All the fury of English persistence in evil doing was poured out upon the town which was considered the cause of all the trouble, and Boston must submit or rebel. For the latter she needed allies, and she sent Paul Revere to gain the support of the rich and populous colony of Pennsylvania.

The Quakers were still the dominant sect, and they had gone about as far in resistance as their principles would

allow. No people had more pronounced ideas of human rights than they, and hitherto they had heartily joined in the popular measures. But now they saw that war was coming, and against war they felt bound to protest. They were beginning to withdraw from the movement, and the men who had the revolutionary cause most at heart saw that a prudent course must be adopted if they would carry with them these respectable, wealthy, and influential people, who largely controlled without occupying the assembly, and to whom many of the Germans looked with unshaken confidence for advice.

The friends to whom Paul Revere was accredited were Joseph Reed, Charles Thomson, and Thomas Mifflin. Reed was a young lawyer from New Jersey, and a fiery patriot, who became a general in Washington's army. Thomson was the old head-master of the Penn Charter School, the secretary for the Indians at their treaties, who understood the Quakers perfectly and had married one, though he himself was never a member. He was secretary of the Continental Congress through all its long and checkered career, and repository of all the secrets of government. Afterwards he translated the Septuagint, and lived to a good old age at his home near the present Bryn Mawr. His notes of revolutionary affairs, kept through his public life, he finally destroyed, because they contained facts which he thought had better be forgotten.

Mifflin was a Quaker, but, being a man of war, quickly lost his membership. He became a prominent general, president of the Continental Congress, governor of Pennsylvania, and member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States.

But Dickinson was the man of all others to be gained to the patriot cause, and Dickinson was ready to go with them. His well-known clearness of thinking and conservative temper, it was believed, would draw into the cause the moderate men, and especially the Quakers.

A public meeting was arranged. Reed, Mifflin, and Thomson spoke with fervor, and Thomson fainted in the midst of

CHARLES THOMSON.

his speech. Then in a quiet, dignified speech Dickinson urged moderation. Dr. Smith, the provost of the college, wrote the reply to send to Boston, which was sympathetic and plain in its assertion of the colonial rights. Another and larger meeting at the State house went still further, endorsing the call of a congress of all the colonies to meet in Philadelphia, and urging all Pennsylvania to be actively loyal to the common cause. The assembly was requested to meet and appoint representatives to the Colonial Congress. The Quaker State was surging into line, and John Dickinson and Charles Thomson were directing the movement.

The first Continental Congress assembled in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, in September, 1774. Pennsylvania was represented by Dickinson, Mifflin, Joseph Galloway (afterwards a prominent British sympathizer), Samuel Rhoads, Edward Biddle, John Morton, George Ross, and Charles Humphreys. Thomson, though not a delegate, was made secretary. Samuel and John Adams came from Massachusetts, the Livingstones from New York and New Jersey, Peyton Randolph (who was made president), Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington, from Virginia, the Rutledges and Gadsden, from South Carolina. The congress well represented the revolutionary feeling of the country, which was at this stage determined to resist, but fully expected to obtain the desired ends by constitutional means, and, except Samuel Adams and perhaps a few others, had no serious thoughts of independence. John Dickinson wrote their papers.

With great unanimity they espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and resolved that contributions ought to be forwarded to her sufferers. They requested merchants in general to refuse to import goods from Great Britain, and later resolved that all imports from and exports to England and her colonies should cease within a year. The clamor of London merchants had wrought out their will on several occasions already, and they were disposed to try it again more unitedly.

They also adopted a declaration of rights, an address to

the people of America, one to the people of Great Britain, and one to the king. The last breathed loyalty, while presenting very plainly their grievances. Lord Chatham spoke of these addresses as unsurpassed in ability by any state papers of any age or any country, and urged them on the attention of the ministry.

The assembly of Pennsylvania, elected yearly, and still in the hands of moderate men, unanimously approved the report of the congressional proceedings, and recommended the suggestions to the observance of the people. They appointed delegates to the congress to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1775, unless the grievances were by that time redressed.

These delegates were nearly the same as before. Rhoads, who was mayor of Philadelphia, and Galloway, who was out of sympathy with the movement, were excused at their own request; Franklin, who returned from London within a few days of the opening of the congress, was added to the delegation.

That distinguished Pennsylvanian came home full of honors. Sent over originally in 1764 as the agent of one province and with one especial mission, he had become the practical if not the acknowledged representative of all the colonies in their difficulties with the mother country. It soon became evident to him and to his constituents that the cause he had so warmly espoused, the transfer of the government from the proprietors to the crown, was no longer desirable if possible. He was accused of lukewarmness in opposing the Stamp Act, he advised his province not to desist, and secured the supposed emoluments of the place for a friend. He advised the Bostonians to pay for the tea, and gained their wrathful negative to his advice. In conjunction with Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay he drew up a plan, honorable to both countries, which they sincerely hoped would settle all points of dispute, but which was ruthlessly tossed aside by the ministry. These evidences of moderation on the one hand combined with unquestioned devotion to his country, and firm, but diplomatic resistance

to ministerial schemes on the other, and a just pride in his literary and scientific attainments, made him overwhelmingly popular in America. His return to Philadelphia was a triumph. The moderate and revolutionist both welcomed him as likely to add strength to his cause. He did not leave them long in doubt, but immediately threw the great weight of his abilities and influence into the cause of radical resistance to British tyranny.

In January, 1775, Lord Chatham made a last appeal to the ministry to preserve the peace. "Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just." He urged them to withdraw the troops from Boston; to give up their attempts at taxation; to do justice and not assert untenable prerogative; and warned them of the inevitable ultimate failure of the attempt to coerce America. The greatest statesman of England gave his solemn opinion in the greatest speech of his life that the cause of justice was not on the side of his country, and thereby gained the applause of all succeeding generations in England and America for his brave and true words. But the purpose of king and ministry was unchanged.

Before the second Continental Congress met in May, 1775, Lexington and Concord had been fought, and an American army had assembled around Boston. John Adams, a month before, had asserted "That there are any who pant after independence is the greatest slander in the province." Not only had it become manifest that no attention would be paid to the appeals of the last congress, but the story of the successful fight of the Massachusetts militia against the British regulars had stirred the revolutionary spirit to its depths, and put faith and courage into the hearts of the doubtful.

Governor Penn, while professedly sympathizing with the American resistance, urged upon Pennsylvania that the proper media of remonstrance were the provincial assemblies, and not a continental congress. To this view the assembly decidedly demurred. They replied that they "had too great a regard for their engagements (to other provinces) to accept benefits for themselves only which were due to all,

and which by a generous rejection for the present might be finally secured to all."

But this dignified position, firm though it was, was too slow for the more radical element of the population. A provincial convention was held, presided over by Joseph Reed, which warmly supported the recommendations of the Continental Congress, and took measures to succor such as should be damaged by future loss of trade with England. When the news of Lexington came, an immense meeting of the people of Philadelphia agreed "to associate for the purpose of defending with arms their lives, their property, and liberty." These "associators" sprang up all over the province, engaged in "learning the art of war," and every county raised its quota. The Quaker meetings, true to their peace principles, could not restrain many of their younger members from joining the ranks, and amid a rousing enthusiasm, enhanced by the news of the capture of Ticonderoga, the second Continental Congress assembled on May 10, 1775.

Yet the wisest men hesitated. Again they decided upon an address to the king. Again Dickinson's clear thinking and forcible pen were in demand, and exercised unbounded influence over the proceedings. Franklin shook his head and predicted that further appeals to England would be in vain. Mifflin vehemently protested against delay in adopting forcible measures. The determination to sustain Massachusetts never flagged. The proscribed John Hancock was made president; the militia everywhere were advised to arm and train. It was decided to have a continental army, and on June 15th George Washington was chosen commander-in-chief. No decisive step, however, looking to independence, was taken.

There cannot be much doubt that the sentiment of the majority of Pennsylvanians at the outbreak of the war was averse to military resistance to England. The Quakers and the Germans, who had always controlled the assembly, were opposed to it, the one from principle, the other partly from principle and partly from indifference. The militant leaders,

Reed, Thomson, and Mifflin, to which list we must now add Franklin, found themselves supported by large numbers of all denominations in Philadelphia and by the Presbyterians everywhere; and by their organization and activity they were leading, and sometimes forcing, public sentiment. The attitude of the people was reflected in the assembly, which was elected annually, and would not sanction radical measures. Time was bringing more and more friends to the cause of liberty, and Dickinson and Thomson, who understood the situation perfectly, desired that prudent means only should be taken till the Pennsylvanians were ready. But this did not suit the more violent, and they set themselves to work to abolish the Penn charter of 1701, to get rid of the assembly, and to make such changes as would install in power undoubted friends of independence and war. They secured from the house the appointment of a "Committee of Public Safety," which had power to call the associators into service, to provide for their support and the protection of the province against invasion. Dr. Franklin was chosen president. An attempt was made to require of all adult males military service or a pecuniary equivalent, but out of regard for the Quakers and other peace sects, this was not at this time pressed. They, however, were advised to aid wherever they could, and their response was a liberal contribution of food and clothing to the needy sufferers of Massachusetts, raised by subscription in all their meetings.

Furthermore, they addressed the house, setting forth their religious faith, calling attention to the provision of the existing charter, which decreed that no person could be molested in matters of conscience. They declared that they had a just sense of the value of liberty, and desired to preserve it by all measures not inconsistent with their Christian profession, yet they thought that peaceable resistance, with meekness and firmness, was the proper attitude towards a government which oppressed them.

Against this position the revolutionary committees vigorously protested. They attacked the doctrine of peace and

demanded that in this time of danger all should share alike, and that no citizens should be permitted to withdraw themselves and their property from the common cause. Such would gain all the benefits of success, and risk nothing from failure. The doctrines of the Quakers, they said, were incompatible with freedom. The assembly, thus urged, resolved that all persons between sixteen and fifty who did not associate in warlike employ ought to contribute a financial equivalent.

While the provinces were moving on towards the position of armed opposition to the English government, they were still conducting their own political affairs in his majesty's name. Early in 1776 the Continental Congress recommended to them, "where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established," to set up new machinery adapted to the changed circumstances. This immediately brought before the people of Pennsylvania their own political conditions. Did they possess a government sufficient to the exigencies of affairs, and if not, could the constituted assembly make the necessary change? The proprietaries and the legislature were disposed to answer both questions affirmatively, the first doubtfully, the second without question. They pointed out the truly representative character of their assembly and the liberties granted by the charter now in operation for seventy-five years. They represented the wealth and education of the city, and many of the steady-going farmers of the great agricultural counties. The more active citizens, however, impatient of anything which recognized English authority, were determined to break entirely with the past. Borrowing English names they called themselves Whigs and their opponents Tories.

At a public meeting held May 20, 1776, it was resolved that the assembly, drawing its powers from the king and elected for other purposes, had no authority to form a new government, and that a convention be called together for the purpose.

This proposition was viewed with alarm by many repu-

table citizens. The Tories, of course, opposed it. Many of the warm friends of the Revolution, like Charles Thomson, also opposed it as unnecessary and harsh, and as likely to make enemies among those who, by a little persuasion, could be brought into the movement.

But the plan was impetuously rushed forward. In obedience to the resolutions of the town meeting, a conference from all the counties of the province met in Philadelphia and ordered an election for members of a convention to revise the government of Pennsylvania. All present voters and all associators might vote, but any one might be required to take oath or affirmation abjuring his allegiance to George III., and expressing his willingness to live peaceably under a free government. Under this provision the friends of the old system refused to take part in the election, the Whigs had everything their own way, and the convention of their ardent friends was called to meet on the 8th of July.

Before this date, an event, great in importance to all the colonies and to the future United States, was brought to a successful issue in the State House, on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia,—the adoption and signing of the Declaration of Independence. Our history interests itself especially with the attitude of the Pennsylvania delegation towards this memorable occurrence.

The memorial to the king, on which the last hopes of maintaining union with the mother country were built, was sent to him, in order to make it palatable, by Richard Penn, grandson of the founder, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, who, though a loyalist, possessed the confidence of the Americans. When the king refused to admit him to his presence or in any way receive the address, and issued a proclamation stating that his American subjects were in rebellion, and hired troops in Germany, the most of the delegates felt that the last hope was gone. On the 8th of June, Richard Henry Lee offered his memorable resolutions, which were seconded by John Adams, the first of which was: "That these United Colonies are and ought to

be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This was resisted by Dickinson and Wilson, of Pennsylvania, on the ground that it was premature, that there was no efficient union among the colonies, that haste would hurt the ripening sentiment of the middle states, and that recognition by and alliance with foreign powers would not be gained by declarations, but by military success. The question was postponed for three weeks.

In the mean time drafts of treaties with foreign powers were drawn up, and the Articles of Confederation, under which the colonies worked till 1790, were put into shape. These were all the work of Dickinson. Every important state paper of the times just preceding the Revolution had been the product of his pen.

During this time also the states which had not already instructed their delegates, with the exception of New York, had been induced by popular pressure to pass resolutions authorizing independence, so that when, on July 1, debate was resumed it was felt that the decision could not be postponed. On the next day the vote was taken, all the colonies except New York, which was silent, voting in favor of Lee's resolution.

The Pennsylvania delegation consisted of Franklin, Dickinson, Wilson, Willing, Morris, Morton, and Humphries. Franklin was the only one of these who originally voted for independence. Wilson and Morton were brought over on the day of voting. Willing and Humphries were consistently in the opposition, and Dickinson and Robert Morris absented themselves. The vote, therefore, stood three to two in favor of independence. On the 4th of July the final draft of the Declaration was adopted to conform to the decision of two days earlier. The signatures were not attached till August. In the mean time the delegation had been partly changed, so that the "signers" were Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton,

George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, and George Ross.

At the time appointed the conference for reorganizing the government of Pennsylvania met, and made Franklin president. From the day it assembled it assumed all the powers of the State. The assembly, it is true, met in August, without a quorum, and again in September. At this time nothing was done except to settle some matters relating to the accounts of the province, and to enter a formal protest against the assumptions of power by the convention as unwarranted by any instructions of the people, and dangerous to liberty. They then adjourned and never met again.

So fell Penn's charter, and so ended the sessions of a body of legislators unexcelled in integrity, in wisdom, in devotion to popular rights and liberties by any similar body in any state. Since 1701, by yearly elections, they had kept in close touch with their constituents, correctly interpreting their wants and prudently guiding their aspirations. They had brought their province to the front rank in numbers, wealth, and order; their chief city to be a model for America of decorum and progress in all that constitutes good government. In the trying days of changing sentiment preceding the war they had probably gone as rapidly as their constituents. They had authorized their delegates to vote for independence, and had passed enactments for arming and organizing the militia; and many lovers of the Revolution, like Dickinson, Thomson, and Mifflin, would have left them alone as fairly reflecting the popular will, and as likely to be equal to all emergencies, but the radicals would not have it so. Their precipitate action drove a number of men, respectable for wealth and virtue, to the loyalist side. It alienated the sympathies of many Quakers and the many friends of the proprietaries and of established order, and it gained but little, for the new constitution was an ill-considered and defective instrument which could not prove permanent.

The death of the charter was the death of Quaker influence in politics. War time was no time for them. They

took no part as a body on either side. Large numbers of their young men entered the American army and a very few the British. These were all "disowned" for violating the Quaker testimony in favor of peace. Many of the wealthy merchants of Philadelphia, as well as of New York and Boston, were British sympathizers, and this included a number of Quakers. They were not active, and gave no aid to the loyalist cause. They did not, as did other loyalists, leave the city with the British troops, but quietly lived down the opprobrium their passive toryism had occasioned. They were vastly unpopular during and immediately after the war, and suffered much in person and estate, but this soon passed away. They never, however, attempted to re-enter the political life of the State which they had founded and largely controlled for nearly a century. Their official position was something like this: We opposed by all legitimate means the British encroachments on liberty. We considered them ill-advised, tyrannical, and, in view of their certain effects, wicked. We would disobey them and take the consequences. But we stop at war. We cannot join in armed resistance, for that is contrary to our conception of Christian teaching; nor can we actively aid in setting up illegally, and for the purpose of prosecuting the war, a government on the ruins of the old charter, which we consider quite equal to the emergencies; nor will we hire men to do the fighting we cannot do ourselves, nor pay taxes to aid measures against our consciences. Certainly we will not aid Britain in enforcing its unrighteous decrees. We can be nothing in this time of commotion but quiet citizens, espousing neither side and suffering whatever is put upon us. When an established government again exists we will yield it our allegiance.

Of course, there was no material for revolution in such a platform as this, and so Quakerism had to step aside along with the more militant loyalism which characterized the friends of the proprietaries and many wealthy citizens.

CHAPTER XII.

Maryland Boundary—Connecticut Claims—"Yankee War"—Virginia and New York Claims—Indian War—Composition of Population—The Germans—Sects and Church People—Zinzendorf, Schlatter, and Muhlenburg—Sauer—The Scotch-Irish—Episcopalian Schools and Colleges—University of Pennsylvania—Educated Men—Franklin and His Institutions—Philadelphia Architecture—The State House—Industrial Condition.

IN making continuous the story of Pennsylvania's political development, several matters of importance have been omitted. These we will now take up, so as to make the history complete to the death of Penn's charter in 1776.

We have seen that after vexations, suits, and disputes, dating back to 1681, the Penns and the Baltimores had come to an agreement, in 1750, that the boundary lines between Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland should be decided by a commission who should be guided by the following conclusions: The line of Delaware should run west from near Cape Henlopen to the centre of the peninsula, thence in a northerly direction, tangent to the circumference of a circle drawn with a twelve-mile radius around New Castle as a centre, thence around this circumference to the Delaware River. The Pennsylvania line should start at the point of tangency and run due north to a parallel of latitude fifteen miles south from the southernmost point of the city of Philadelphia, and then directly west the whole length of the province.

This did not, however, settle the matter, for other questions could still be found to differ about, and it was not till 1763 that the problem was finally entrusted to two expert English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who, in accord with the terms of the arrangement, located the southern line of Pennsylvania at latitude 39° 44′. Every five miles they set up stones marked with the Penn and Bal-

timore arms. Between these at mile intervals other stones marked P on one side and M on the other were planted. All of these stones were brought from England. In 1767, after locating about two hundred and fifty miles, the Indians objected to their westward course, and the remainder of their work was postponed. Over the uninhabited mountains the line was marked by heaps of stones, and west of this by posts heaped around with stones and earth. "Mason and Dixon's Line" thus settled a controversy of nearly a century, and in time divided not only two states, but two diverse sectional ideas—freedom and slavery.

While the Penns were having trouble in protecting their boundaries in the south, another claimant had to be fought in the north. Connecticut, about 1753, became possessed with the idea that she owned a strip of land as wide as herself and extending indefinitely westward. She admitted that New York was a barrier, but overleaping this the strip began with the eastern boundary of Pennsylvania and embraced the whole northern section of the state. The basis of this claim was their charter of 1662, which antedated that to William Penn, and admitted of no western limit but the Pacific.

With this foundation a company was formed to buy of the Indians and settle a large tract lying along the Susquehanna River and extending westwardly to the Allegheny Mountains. The purchase was, in a way, effected in 1754 at the Albany treaty,—that is, the New Englanders found some Indians who were willing to give a deed in exchange for presents. As the Indian titles had previously been bought by the Penns in 1736, the purchase had little validity. There was enough, however, to begin the occupation, and a large number of Connecticut settlers pressed in. In 1755 surveyors laid out tracts in the beautiful Wyoming Valley, since famed in song and in cruel Indian warfare, and mills and houses were built and occupied. These woodsmen derived their titles from Connecticut and denied the authority of Pennsylvania. They suffered severely from the Indians, who considered them intruders. In 1764 additional surveys

were made, and grants to settlers given on condition that they would remain on the ground and defend themselves against all attacks of red and white men. The influx continued till 1769, when a stockade—"Forty Fort"—was erected.

By this time the Penns became aware that something must be done. They surveyed land in the heart of the Connecticut country and leased it with the same condition, that it should be held against all intruders. A miniature war followed which centred around the site of the present city of Wilkesbarre. The "fort" was stormed by the sheriff and his posse, and the offenders taken to Easton, where they were bailed and returned to Wyoming. This happened repeatedly. The "Pennamite and Yankee War" continued for two years. Forts were built and captured, prisoners were taken and held as hostages. The Pennsylvanians were worsted in the encounters, and finally withdrew their armed force. Their assembly declared they had nothing to do with it, and left the proprietaries to settle it as best they could, as the land would all belong to them in the event of making good their claim. The Connecticut legislature, in 1773, resolved that it would support the claims of its colony and appointed commissioners to treat with the Penns, when another war ensued, the Connecticut claimants still holding the land.

The dispute was carried to England. In the mean time Connecticut exercised jurisdiction. In 1775 Governor Penn sent an army of five hundred men to drive out the settlers. The attack was defeated. The Continental Congress then resolved that the contending parties should cease their efforts till a legal settlement should be effected.

The Revolutionary War interfered with this, and it was not till 1782 that a body of commissioners decided that the disputed land belonged to Pennsylvania. In the mean time, as we shall presently narrate, the "Wyoming Massacre" had been consummated.

Pennsylvania also had trouble with Virginia over her western boundary. The Old Dominion had an indefinite

claim to all land west and northwest of her, and under this included the present city of Pittsburg, and for some time exercised authority there. Penn's charter allowed him five degrees of longitude, and the controversy was settled during the Revolutionary War by the decision that this five degrees should be measured on Mason and Dixon's line, and not from the most eastern point of the province. From the extremity of this southern line a line was to be drawn due north to constitute the western limit of the state, and this gave Pittsburg to Pennsylvania.

The northern boundary was also a subject of dispute with New York. Penn's charter gave him three degrees of latitude, which would have included Albany. Pennsylvania never seriously entered this claim, but the final establishment of parallel 42° for its northern boundary was not made till 1789. The year previously, by permission of Congress, Pennsylvania had bought of the Indians the corner north of this parallel and west of New York, extending up to Lake Erie. She completed her right to the "Erie Triangle" by purchasing, three years later, the interest of the United States Government for about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Indian troubles did not cease with the defeat of Pontiac in 1764. White men still encroached upon Indian lands, and real or pretended difficulties in determining boundaries caused friction. Vengeance on the Conestoga and Lancaster murderers was still unappeased, and the crimes of a villain in Cumberland County, in 1767, almost produced another outbreak. He had killed four men and two women Indians, who had sought his hospitality, and then going to their cabins slew the children. Through jealousy of the provincial government the crime went unpunished by the local authorities.

These many grievances rankled with the Indians. The Pennsylvania Assembly, however, wisely determined to appease them. They ordered trespassers to remove under penalty of death, and appropriated a liberal sum to enforce the act; they made renewed efforts to bring the Paxton

boys to justice; and they agreed to establish a boundary between white and Indian lands, and to buy all east of this line. A treaty with the Five Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawnees, in 1769, at Fort Stanwix, sealed this compact.

The poor Indians converted to Christianity by the Moravians, who were saved by their removal to Philadelphia in 1764, and whose presence there was the occasion of the march to that city of the Paxton boys, had settled, after the trouble was over, at Wyalusing. There they built a village of respectable cabins, a church, and a school-house, and cleared and tilled the surrounding land. Secure in certain grants from Governor Penn, they hoped to live a peaceful life. But the Connecticut war raged around them, and they felt unprotected from another white attack. They left all their improvements and emigrated as a body to the west of the Ohio.

The last Indian war within the limits of Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution was in 1774, in the extreme west. Indians had been killing white men on the Ohio and around Pittsburg. The backwoodsmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania organized for defence and punishment, and in turn began the promiscuous killing of Indians. The matter was taken in hand by Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, who raised an army and established a peace. This war derives an historic interest from the speech of the unfortunate Indian chief Logan.

He was a native of Shamokin, had grown up under the influence of the Moravians, and prided himself as being the friend of the white man. But thirteen of his kindred had been killed and their spirits clamored for blood. He went on the war-path, and when thirteen white scalps were secured he retired from the contest.

At the treaty at the close of the war, Logan sent this message:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin and he gave him not meat; if he ever came naked and I clothed him not. In the course of the last war Logan remained in his cabin an advocate of peace. Such

was my love for the whites that the rest of my nation pointed at me and said 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I should have ever lived with them had it not been for one man who last spring cut off all the relations of Logan, not sparing women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called upon me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many and fully glutted my revenge. For my nation I rejoice in the beams of peace; but nothing I have said proceeds from fear. Logan disdains the thought. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

The population of Pennsylvania at the time of the Revolution was probably nearly three hundred thousand. Franklin, speaking roughly, and probably referring to spheres of political influence, says it was composed one-third of Quakers, one-third of Germans, and one-third of miscellaneous elements, which did not fuse.

More than any other colony, Pennsylvania was made up of diverse nationalities. The Quakers occupied Philadelphia and the adjacent counties,—Bucks, Philadelphia, and Chester. Bordering them, extending from northeast to southwest, filling the northern parts of the two former counties, and large sections of Northampton, Berks, and Lancaster, were the Germans. West of these the population was largely of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The Connecticut settlers of Puritan stock were the prevailing influence in the Wyoming Valley. The Moravians, though never large in numbers, were potential in beneficent influence, and made Bethlehem their centre of operations. By the time of the Revolution the Swedes of the Delaware Valley had lost their identity, and so to a large extent had the Welsh of the "Barony," just west of Philadelphia.

As the original proprietors and the prevailing political leaders, enough has been said of the Quakers. The other elements of the population need further attention.

The German immigration began with Pastorius and the settlers of Germantown. They were few in number, and

mostly Quaker in their connections. They were followed to America by a large number of "Sects," simple, religious, quiet people, all of them having adopted ideas largely in harmony with the Quakers, and with their mystical and contemplative side even more developed.

Early in 1694 the ship "Sarah Maria" sailed from London with a load of German emigrants. They had a stormy voyage, but by escapes which they considered miraculous, after a six weeks' voyage they landed in the Chesapeake, and found their way to Philadelphia. Their leader was John Kelpius, and they were Pietists who had come to America to establish a community, "The Society of the Woman of the Wilderness," they called it, where they could practise their mystical rites and await the coming of the Lord, for whom they nightly watched from an observatory built on the top of their house. They were holy people who would not fight or swear, and were filled with a desire to penetrate the deep mysteries of the kingdom of God. They established themselves in houses and caves along the shaded banks of the Wissahickon, near to Germantown. In matters of dogma they did not think it necessary to agree. Kelpius was a man of great learning in the languages, who lived in a cave and gave himself up to writing and contemplation. One of his followers introduced the Episcopal Church government into Pennsylvania, and another was the pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church, at Wicaco, in the southern part of Philadelphia.

The Mennonites were early Protestants, who derived their name from Menno Simons, who was born about 1492. They anticipated the Quakers by one hundred years in their belief in a universal divine light, and in the unchristian character of war and oaths. Proscribed by the Catholics, they did not find a home among the Protestants, and were fiercely persecuted by the reformers of Switzerland, which abuse they bore unresistingly. So cruel was their treatment that the more liberal Protestants of Rotterdam remonstrated in 1659. After being driven up and down the Rhine for a century and a half, they came in contact with William

Penn and other Quaker missionaries, and heard of Pennsylvania. The favorable accounts sent by Pastorius and his friends, of their close fraternization with the prevailing sect of the province, sent, in course of time, almost the whole body to the New World.

In 1688 a new company landed, the leader being William Rittinghuysen (Rittenhouse), who, two years later, built the first paper mill in Pennsylvania, where the paper for Bradford's publications was made. In 1702 a new tract on the Skippack was purchased, and a colony sent there; numbers of them afterwards settled in Lancaster County.

In the matter of religion they resembled the Quakers, except that they did not discard baptism or the rite of the Lord's Supper. To these sacraments they added a third, the washing of the feet of the brethren, as having equal biblical authority with the others. In many cases the Mennonites and the Quakers worshipped together, and, as with Pastorius and his associates, it is difficult now to tell to which body certain individuals owed their primary allegiance. They probably did not increase in numbers.

The Dunkers, or German Baptists, began to arrive about 1719. They joined the Mennonites in Germantown, which became their head-quarters. The Sowers, father and son, of whom more presently, were their leaders. They opposed war and oaths, but differed from the Quakers in accepting the two common ordinances, to which they added feet-washing. A body of them under Conrad Beissel separated, about 1728, on the issues that the seventh day of the week was the Sabbath, and that celibacy was the highest form of life. They established a monastery in Ephrata, in Lancaster County, where about three hundred mystical people gathered and supported various communistic industries. Here, perhaps, the first Sunday-school of the United States was established in 1740. Their great scholar, Peter Miller, translated the "Mennonites Martyr's Mirror," a vast collection of old records of suffering, after a labor of three years. He and his assistants printed the book about 1748, fifteen hundred pages of large type on good paper. The five hundred

copies still unsold in revolutionary times were seized by the American army, and torn up into "wads" for muskets; in the eyes of their writers, the most undesirable of all uses.

The great leader of the "Sects" was Christopher Sower of Germantown, who made his office the head-quarters of German Americans. His weekly newspaper circulated all over the country. The first Bible printed in a European language in America was the German edition which came from his press in 1743. It was nearly forty years later that the first English Bible was printed. The energetic German made his own paper, ink, and type, and completed the volume in his own office. He issued many books, and his son, of the same name, who inherited his ability and business, added to the list. An almanac came yearly from their press, and was full of excellent advice and some crude astronomy.

The Schwenkfelders came in 1734, after two centuries of persecution in Silesia. Their views were practically the same as the Quakers. They objected to war, oaths, regularly paid ministry, and the sacraments. They settled around Pennsville, on the Perkiomen, where they still remain.

All of these immigrants were conscientious men, of more than the average education for their time, whose general sympathy with the Quakers made them peculiarly welcome in the province. While they found the rest and liberty they sought, they did not permanently prosper as religious bodies.

The Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum*, originated among the followers of John Huss in Bohemia and Moravia, about the middle of the fifteenth century. When Luther appeared they numbered about two hundred thousand people, but in the desolating wars which followed they became almost extinct. A few of them worshipped in secret, until in 1722 Count Zinzendorf, a pious German nobleman, offered them an asylum on his estates. A number came, and thus Herrnhut became the nucleus of a new growth. The original Moravians were Slavonic, the revival brought in Germans. Strongly pietistic, possessing unquenchable

missionary zeal, and, unlike many of the sects, having no distrust of learning, they formed a cultured, devoted society for the propagation of Christianity at home and abroad.

Their adopted home was only temporary, and they found it necessary to seek a permanent place beyond the ocean. In 1735 they began a settlement in Georgia. The martial proclivities of this province not proving acceptable to them, for they, like many other bodies of the early reformers, were opposed to war and oaths, they found a more congenial home in Pennsylvania. Here Count Zinzendorf joined them, and they bought a resting-place on the Lehigh, which they named Bethlehem.

The settlement prospered from the start. At first it was communistic. The church carried on the business and owned all the land. Besides agriculture, mills of various sorts were started, and were successful. Excellent schools were set up. Houses for the brothers and sisters of their orders were models of the kind. One of the best inns in America was in operation, for Bethlehem was on the main line of travel between New England and Pennsylvania and the South. Fruit-trees along the streets made the place a garden. The church afterwards divided the most of its property among the members, but the favorable conditions still prevailed.

Having thus a habitation, the Moravians settled themselves to work. Zinzendorf had a quixotic but praiseworthy notion that he could fuse the German bodies into one compact and powerful church. When he arrived in Philadelphia in 1741 he deliberately, in the presence of the governor, renounced his title as count, and called a synod of representatives of all the sects and churches. Having been himself ordained both by the Lutheran and Moravian authorities, no one was better fitted than he to do this, and a general response followed. But sectarian lines were hard, and, after an auspicious beginning, the bodies fell to fighting among themselves, and Zinzendorf got only abuse for his efforts.

But if the Moravians could not be the nucleus of a uni-

versal church, they had two lines of work in which they could be highly useful. Many of the German immigrants of the time were churchless and schoolless, living in rude and dirty surroundings, and growing up in ignorance and low ideals. To meet these conditions the emissaries from Bethlehem set themselves to work with considerable success, though here again sectarian jealousy was an obstacle hard to overcome. Nevertheless, their evangelists traversed the land from Maine to Georgia, the farms and mills of Bethlehem furnishing the means of support. Everywhere there were produced beneficent results in Moravian converts and better communities.

They had peculiar success also among the Indians. When the little band of Moravian red men, which had been sheltered by the Quakers in 1764 from the fury of the Paxton raiders, desired a home, they built a village, as they hoped in solitude, on the north branch of the Susquehanna, which they called Friedenshütten—tents of peace. David Zeisberger was the leader in all Indian missionary work. He set up other peaceable Indian settlements through northern and western Pennsylvania. But troubles followed with the non-Christian Indians, and he was glad to move all his converts to eastern Ohio, where he fondly, but vainly, hoped they might live in peace. They seemed willing to adopt the pacific policy of the Brethren, and a remarkable degree of civilization followed. Their further tragical history, which resulted in their practical extermination, is not within our limits, but the Moravians stood by them to the last.

The great body of the Germans who came to America between 1710 and the Revolution did not belong to these sects. They were "church people," Reformed or Lutheran. In the main they came from the Rhine provinces, including Switzerland. The Palatinate, from which they derived the name usually given them—Palatines, had been for decades the battle-field of Europe, till it was ravaged beyond apparent hope of revival. Worry and starvation and plunderings from political unrest, rather than persecution for conscience' sake, made their lot unendurable. "Then," said an early

writer, "men looked into each other's faces and said, 'Let us go to America, and if we perish we perish.'"

Hearing that Queen Anne had charitably offered a home in her American provinces, some thirty thousand, in 1709, threw themselves into England. Some were sent to Ireland, the Catholics were returned to Germany, and most of the others found their way to America. Pennsylvania suited them best and became the expected haven for all the distressed people along the Rhine, from Switzerland to the Low Countries. At first the immigrants belonged mainly to the German Reformed Church. The Lutherans came later.

Once started, the tide rapidly increased in volume. Shippers found it to their advantage to crowd them on their poorly constructed boats, and hundreds of them died at sea. Those who reached the Delaware were often unhealthy and in a disgusting condition, and were thrown on the care of the Quakers. Some sold themselves as servants for a term of years to pay their passage money. They were hardly welcome in the province. Governor Keith protested, and James Logan more than once expressed to the proprietaries the belief that such a large influx of German-speaking people was no benefit. They did not, however, trouble the settled parts of the colony; but pressing westward they tilled the fertile soil they found outside the Quaker tracts, and by their sobriety, thrift, and industry rapidly improved their condition. Without caring much for political participation, they were in general sympathy with Quaker policy. They desired mainly, however, to create a new Germany in America, and farm their lands in peace. They suffered from lack of ministers and of schools, and made but little advance; many of them were uncouth and illiterate, with but little ambition to improve.

So far as the German Reformed Church members are concerned, the man who organized and educated them was Michael Schlatter. He was born in Switzerland in 1716, and came to Pennsylvania thirty years later. Well educated, and possessing great energy, enthusiasm, and executive ability, he established churches through New Jersey, Penn-

sylvania, and Virginia, and arranged for their care. Through his influence a large sum of money was collected in Holland and Germany for the establishment of schools among the German-Amer[illegible]ans of all denominations. To increase the interest of the [illegible]bscribers he wrote a pamphlet in which the semi-savage c[illegible]ndition of his people was strongly emphasized. This they naturally resented, and the charity schools fell rapidly [illegible]nto disrepute. Christopher Sower wrote against them [illegible] tending towards the establishment of the Church of En[illegible]land. Others saw in them a scheme to dissolve the alli[illegible]ce between the Germans and the Quakers, and Schlatter became very unpopular, a fate he hardly deserved. As a pioneer in the attempt to establish a public school system [illegible]or the province, he possesses a strong claim to our regar[illegible] He labored hard to induce his people to learn and u[illegible] the English language, and their progress would have b[illegible]n more rapid had they heeded his advice.

What Schlatter was to the German Reformed Church, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was to the Lutherans. Equally well educated, e[illegible]lly energetic, with superior tact, he supplied exactly wha[illegible]as needed to discipline the vast masses of his illiterate [illegible]nd indifferent countrymen. The Lutherans were the las[illegible]f the three waves which peopled Pennsylvania with Germans. The first brought the sects, the second the reformed members. So rapid was their immigration that they probably exceeded all others in revolutionary times. In 1749 alone, twelve thousand German immigrants landed in Philadelphia.

Muhlenberg was born in 1711, of a noble but impoverished family. After completing his university career and a careful study of American conditions, he came over in 1742. He preached everywhere to men and women hungry for Lutheran teaching, and everywhere the inherent religiousness of the German sprang into life. Many who could read and write, held their ponderous family Bibles as their greatest treasure. Such needed only the touch of Muhlenberg's magnetic spirit to waken them to their duties as churchmen. He also brought the Swedes into the fold,

and reclaimed some of those whom the fervor of Zinzendorf had led away into Moravianism. It was supposed for a time that an alliance would be made with the Episcopal Church, whose constitution and liturgy were similar. Altogether, Muhlenberg stands out as one of the great figures of pre-revolutionary times.

Besides the English and German, the third important element in Pennsylvania's provincial population is what is commonly called the Scotch-Irish. In the reign of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, and the protectorate of Cromwell, a large amount of land was devastated and the inhabitants destroyed in the north of Ireland. To people the country, there emigrated or were moved from Scotland and England a number of Protestant people, whose descendants still constitute the prevailing influence in Ulster. They were Presbyterians in religion, and in turn had to suffer from the attempts to force Episcopacy upon them by the later Stuarts. Their leases of land made upon their arrival, running out about the same time, they concluded to pack their movable possessions and cross the seas. All the provinces received them. Of those who came to Pennsylvania some stopped in the east, and were merged with the English Presbyterians of Philadelphia and near-by counties. But the greater number pressed for the frontiers outside the Germans, and made homes for themselves in the woods. As frontiers went westward they moved with them, finally crossing the mountains and covering nearly all the western part of the State.

They were energetic, self-reliant people, admirably adapted to meet the hardships of settlement. Finding some of the best lands reserved by the proprietaries and remaining unused, they placed their cabins upon them, and were not easily dispossessed. As for Indian claims they seemed too flimsy to be worthy of attention, and many an altercation arose over the cool assurance of ownership on the part of these determined settlers. Several times they were driven off by the state authorities, but their absence lasted only till the withdrawal of the troops.

Nor did their contempt for the Indians extend only to

appropriating their lands. They had no faith in the subsidizing pacific policy of the Quaker. To them the Indians were a treacherous, worthless race, to be tolerated while they remained at peace, to be treated as they themselves treated the whites in time of war. Up to 1755 there was no occasion for fighting them, for the Quaker policy kept the frontiers quiet, except in sporadic cases, which were attended to by the civil authorities and the chiefs of the tribes. But when Braddock went down before Pittsburg, and, instigated by the French, the Indians swarmed along the exposed boundary, the Scotch-Irish met the first fury of the attack. They then vowed death to every Indian, could not use language hard enough against the Quakers who controlled the assembly, and proceeded to defend themselves. To many of them, living on Old Testament morality, the commands of extermination addressed to Joshua were vital against their red enemies.

These were, however, only the excrescences. The great body of them were temperate, God-fearing people, who sought good homes, and loved peace well enough to fight for it. They set up schools and colleges, and organized churches. Their pastors were zealous men of pure lives, and devoted to their work. While naturally unsuccessful in converting Indians, they added whites in large numbers to their congregations.

Politically they were the antipodes of the Quakers. They were combative in their nature, dogmatic in their theology, vigorous and active in speaking and living. The Quakers were pacific from principle and policy, universal in their theory of religion, and individually contemplative and retiring in their habit of life.

The Presbyterians, with all their opposition to Quaker methods, valued the religious liberty which the charter of Penn granted, and strenuously opposed the plan to turn the government over to the crown. They did not succeed in preventing, in 1764, the scheme being carried through the assembly by a large majority, and, in fact, were consistently beaten up to the time of the Revolution, while they were

all the time growing stronger, and were recognized as the most potent of the political enemies of the prevailing party. The Revolution, which they favored to a man, placed them in complete control of the province. Many of the strongest men in political life during and since this war have been descendants of these Scotch-Irish settlers.

The Episcopalians never constituted a wave of immigration. Liberty to establish a parish whenever there were twenty applicants was reserved in the charter to William Penn. This was not taken advantage of till 1695, when Christ Church was established. The interesting building, still standing on Second Street, Philadelphia, was begun in 1727, though the steeple was not completed for about thirty years. The members of the church were not numerous, but by reason of their education, wealth, and social standing they were always influential. Many of the Keithian Quakers ultimately went over to them, and a constant but gentle stream of the wealthier Friends of the sect that entirely ruled out ritual, made them some accretions. But they lacked the evangelizing zeal of the Presbyterians among the white people, and of the Moravians among the Indians.

About 1700, under Judge Quarry, they began a season of hostility against the government, using the Quaker scruples against war and oaths as the means of harassing them, in the hopes that the proprietary government could be overturned and Pennsylvania made a crown colony with an established church. Later, however, when the second generation of Penns joined their church and appointed the judges and members of the council from their members they and the Quakers changed sides. They became warm adherents of the proprietaries and their prerogatives, and vigorously opposed the petition to England in 1764, carried by the influence of Franklin and the Quakers. As the Revolution approached they and the Quakers drew nearer together, and were generally opposed to radical proceedings. Many of them were loyalists during the war, and as a political power they disappeared with the Friends in 1776.

The only other English denomination in the Philadelphia

neighborhood was the Baptist. This was not sufficiently numerous to act as a political power of consequence, there being only about three thousand of them in 1776.

The Connecticut settlers of Wyoming, not yet through with their troubles, brought with them their New England schools and their Congregational faith. Their position was as yet too hazardous to enable them to have much influence outside their own families.

Catholics were few in number, there being about two thousand at the time of the Revolution. The Quakers intended to give them the religious liberty they did to all others, but a protest arose in England. The tests imposed by English authority kept them from office and the right to hold corporate property, but, unlike the most of the other colonies, Pennsylvania permitted them unobtrusively to carry on their religious services in her chief city.

When the Friends settled Philadelphia there were a few attempts to start schools under sanction of the council. Nothing, however, of a permanent character resulted till Penn, in 1689, directed the establishment of a public grammar school. This was given its final charter in 1711, and still exists. It was intended to be, for the times, a high-grade school, corresponding to the English grammar schools then being founded by charitable people in England. To provide for the more extended elementary education of the poor, branches were established over the city, and had this process been continued sufficiently a complete system of public schools would have resulted.

The central school for boys was on Fourth Street below Chestnut, and by the time of the Revolution there were about eight branches. The Fourth Street school was limited in size and taught Latin and Greek, but not much else. The branches were elementary, some of them quite primary, and were for both boys and girls, many of both sexes being admitted free.

Almost immediately the Friends began the building of schools over the country districts near their meeting-houses.

The Yearly Meeting advised this repeatedly, urging that every member be given an opportunity to receive an elementary education under carefully guarded moral influences. These schools were generally open to others on the same terms as to Friends, but in non-Friendly communities no schools were set up. It is probable that forty or fifty of these country schools existed by the time of the Revolution, and illiterate Quakers were almost unknown. The denomination lacked, however, opportunities for higher education and suffered from the lack. Their doctrine, that education was not *necessary* to the ministry, became, in some cases, a doctrine that it was not useful, and this belief, while not universal, acted as a restraint upon higher educational efforts. The Friends who were highly educated were English university men of the first generations or self-taught men, often botanists or mathematicians, whose training was gained in spite of unfavorable surroundings, or the few who had the classical opportunities at the "Public School" of Philadelphia. The most noted of the head-masters of this school was Robert Proud, whose History of Pennsylvania, written about the time of the Revolutionary War, is the most reliable account of the colony.

The Episcopalians set up a school in connection with Christ Church almost immediately. Parish churches and schools were so intimately associated in England that it was quite natural after Christ Church was founded in 1694, to connect with it a school. Schools at Oxford near Philadelphia, at Chester, at Marcus Hook, at Radnor, and at Pequea in Lancaster County soon followed. The Academy, which afterwards became the University of Pennsylvania, while not denominational, was largely founded and maintained by Episcopal influence.

The Presbyterians brought with them from their mother church in Scotland the ideas both of general and advanced education. They wished to have schools in every parish, and their ministers to be not only godly but learned men. A church and a school-house were early joint objects of *concern* in every settlement. In the school the catechism

ROBERT PROUD.

was taught, and the school-master and the pastor were often the same person. Hence the little schools extended with the wave of Presbyterian settlement, first around Philadelphia, then out through western Chester County, and along the Susquehanna River to Paxton and Donegal, over into the fertile Cumberland Valley, and finally through the western half of the State. In many of these instruction was gratuitous, the bills being paid by the synod.

Besides these elementary schools several academies of a higher grade were founded. In 1741 Dr. Francis Alison opened New London Academy, Chester County, from which went out an unusual number of remarkable men of revolutionary times, including John Dickinson, Charles Thomson, and Chief Justice McKean, and James Smith and George Reed, signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Still more noted was the "Log College" of Neshaminy, Bucks County, established in 1726 by the Rev. William Tennent. He was a fine scholar and a vigorous man, and made a marked impression on his students, notwithstanding the single room of twenty feet square which constituted the "College" building. From this humble abode went an influence which set up schools and churches in various quarters, and, indirectly, the great Presbyterian College at Princeton, New Jersey.

The German immigrants included a few highly learned men, and a large number of illiterate people. Great efforts were made to educate these, but the magnitude of the movement made it impossible to supply the necessary teachers, and it was not till about 1740, through the efforts of Zinzendorf, Muhlenberg, and Schlatter that anything like efficiency was introduced. Even after this, when a large amount of European money was at the disposal of the reformers, the incoming throngs of poorly provided immigrants were too great a drain on the educational purses. The "Sects" were in early days better educated than the "Church people," having smaller problems in this line to manage.

Sower was interested with other Germantown people, many

of them Germans, in establishing, in 1761, the Academy on School Lane, which is still prospering. A German department was organized, which soon outgrew the English. Germans were also interested in the College, afterwards University, of Pennsylvania, as will be described. It is probably unjust to ascribe to them opposition to education as such, certainly not to elementary education. Some were discouraged by the difficulty of the problem confronting them, and some feared to enter into movements which might diminish the love of their children for the German language and habits. Political questions also seem to have been mingled with the educational, and a struggle whether the Quakers should retain or the proprietaries gain the German vote created suspicions that the offers to educate them were not wholly disinterested.

The University of Pennsylvania began its life under other names in 1749. Franklin issued his "Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," and twenty-four citizens of various denominations, mainly Episcopalians, formed themselves into a board and adopted regulations. They themselves contributed about two thousand pounds, and this was increased by other donations and the proceeds of lotteries. Franklin was the first president. The "Academy and Charitable School" purchased a building on Fourth Street below Arch, erected for the great preacher, George Whitefield. The Academy immediately set a higher standard than any other institution then existing in the province. Franklin did not approve of Latin and Greek, but they were added to the curriculum, as were also Logic and Natural and Moral Philosophy, and in 1755 its name and functions were enlarged so that it became "The College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia."

Within ten years the number of students had risen to nearly four hundred, many of whom were attracted from the West Indies and other colonies.

The first provost, to whose ability, acquirements, and energy the institution owes its early success, was Dr. William Smith. He came to Pennsylvania in 1754, and was immedi-

PROVOST WILLIAM SMITH.

ately employed to teach the higher branches. His character made such an impression that he was placed at its head, and from that day till after the Revolution he was the personification of the college, as well as a doughty combatant in the political controversies of the day. He was favorable to the American contention till the outbreak of the war, and afterwards his sympathies were supposed to be with the crown. With him were associated Dr. Francis Alison and Ebenezer Kinnersley, a Baptist minister, who was connected with Franklin in his electrical experiments.

In 1765 was added the medical department, the first one in America, and which soon, through the learning of its professors, ranked with the famous medical schools of Europe.

There was also an attempt to make the new institution the centre of an educational movement among the Germans. Dr. Smith received benefactions in England to educate a number of Pennsylvania Germans in his college, and to aid them in establishing schools throughout the province. Muhlenberg and Schlatter were in sympathy with the project, but Sower, seeing in it a scheme to deprive the German of his language and his religion, raised his powerful voice against it. Through his paper, read and respected from Maine to Georgia, he issued warning after warning. Thus, while the trustees were planning the system, Sower was making the whole movement impossible by appealing to sentiments of German nationality, and a great scheme failed, partly because there were denominational and political movements, as well as humanitarian, back of it, and partly because the German refused to give up his inheritance from the fatherland.

Thus Pennsylvania approached the Revolution with one institution of high grade, framed on broad and liberal lines, under wise management sure to have a great future, already doing a great work in education, and with a score of academies and a large number of elementary schools founded by the denominations. To these must be added a few excellent private schools, and we have the educational resources of the province. There were great gaps in the system, many

of the boys and still more of the girls could not be educated, for the schools were distant and costly. The State had done nothing, the churches everything. Pennsylvania was yet to learn that sectarian activity could not be depended on for a complete educational system.

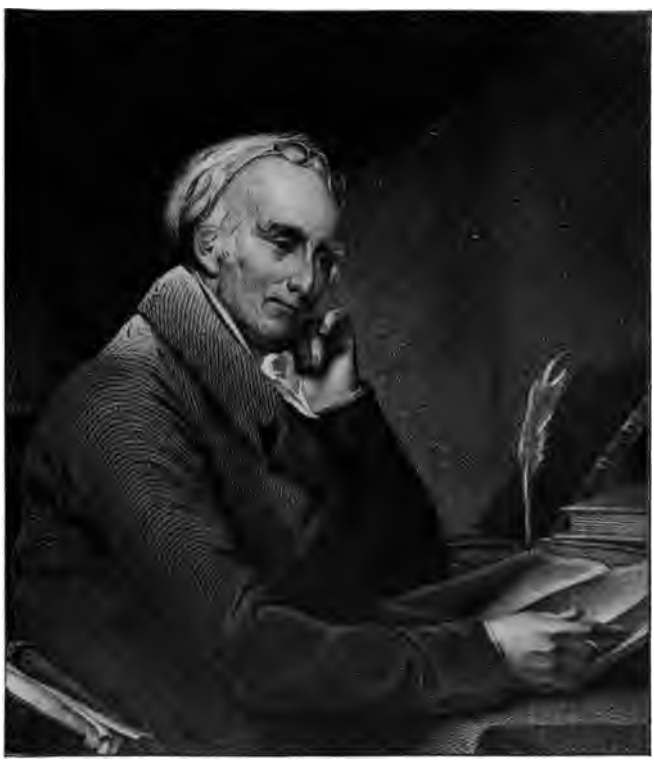
Whatever her educational disadvantages, the number of men of high standing in science, letters, and government was extremely creditable to her intellectual life. Her free institutions were a great encouragement to free thought, and hence to the development of greatness. There was no churchly domination as in Massachusetts, nor was there the exclusive attention to questions of government seen in Virginia. Nowhere else in the colonies had scientific men such deserved reputation.

Among the early settlers, Thomas Lloyd, James Logan, George Keith, David Lloyd, Christopher Taylor, who opened a classical school on the island of Tinicum, Kelpius, Pastorius, Christopher Dock, the school-master of the Skippack, Sower, and Peter Miller, were men of generous culture. Logan made the greatest collection of classical literature in America, a part of which was finally merged with the Philadelphia Library. He was a Latin author of no mean rank.

In science, David Rittenhouse is a prominent name. A descendant of the old paper manufacturer of the Wissahickon, he early developed a taste for science and mathematics. His most conspicuous act was the series of observations on the transit of Venus for solar parallax in 1769, for which the assembly and various public institutions supplied the funds. The results were so accurate and complete that the reputation of Rittenhouse became world-wide. He constructed orreries and other astronomical instruments with his own hands, but in later years became involved in politics and constitution-making.

In botany, John Bartram gained an equal reputation. The provinces were virgin soil for botanists, and Bartram traversed them from Canada to Florida, collecting for himself and his friends, Peter Collinson and Dr. Fothergill, of London. His gardens, near Gray's Ferry, Philadelphia,

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.



DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.

became a great botanical collection, and some of its curiosities are still alive in the city park, into which his grounds have been converted.

Many foreigners did not develop their scientific tastes till they came to the liberal life of Pennsylvania. Among such may be mentioned the ornithologists Wilson and Audubon, and the arborist, Thomas Nuttall. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, found a congenial home here, after being persecuted in England.

We have seen that the first American medical school was in Philadelphia. This was amply supported by a line of great physicians, among whom may be mentioned Doctors Shippen, Bond, and Benjamin Rush.

The artist, Benjamin West, was born of Quaker parents in Chester County, where Swarthmore College now stands, in 1738. His talents were early seen, and he began painting portraits in Philadelphia at seventeen years of age. He soon went to Europe, and in 1792 became president of the Royal Academy. He never ceased to honor his birthplace, and presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital a copy of his great picture,—Christ Healing the Sick.

In statesmanship of the higher sort there may be mentioned the two Lloyds, the two Norrises, Kinsey, Dickinson, Provost Smith, and Charles Thomson.

But unquestionably the most conspicuous figure of colonial Pennsylvania was Benjamin Franklin. He brought with him from Boston the trade of a printer, a mind improved by every opportunity, most versatile and available talents, indefinite ambitions, and an entire absence of pecuniary resources. He had cultivated his style by careful study of *The Spectator* and other standards, and every piece of knowledge on any subject was seized,—he is one of the best examples in history of a self-made man, two years being the extent of his schooling.

In 1729 he established himself in business and never suffered afterwards. In the same year he started his "Pennsylvania Gazette" as a weekly paper, and in 1732 appeared the first copy of "Poor Richard's Almanac," full

of pithy and homely proverbs, and interesting material, mainly of Franklin's own composition. He sold stationery and almost everything which would produce money. He succeeded so well that in 1748, at the age of forty-two, he was able to retire from business with a competence.

In 1736 he was made clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly and entered upon his political career. All the while he was thinking about science on the practical side. He founded a little society of his friends called the Junta, where scientific questions were discussed and scientific discoveries announced. He was the first to notice that northeast storms moved against the wind from the west. He saw the wastefulness of the open fireplace of the provinces, and the unhealthfulness of the close German stove, and invented the "Franklin stove," or "Pennsylvania Fireplace," as he called it, which is as nearly perfect for heating and ventilating purposes as any since devised. He became interested in electricity, and in June, 1752, performed his famous experiment with a kite which proved the electrical nature of lightning. He wrote this in a private letter to Peter Collinson of London, who published it, and Franklin's reputation became world-wide. He investigated phosphorescense in the Gulf Stream, machines for steadying boats, the proper shape for chimneys,—indeed, wherever he turned his luminous intellect there came forth inventions and suggestions of a practical character.

But perhaps his most useful work was in the founding of institutions. We have seen his efforts in connection with the early life of the University of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Hospital, the American Philosophical Society, and the Philadelphia Library, owe their origins largely to his exertions. The idea of the Pennsylvania Hospital appears to have originated with Dr. Thomas Bond about 1750. He found, however, he was unable to do anything without Franklin's aid. The Friends had made several attempts, beginning about 1709, to start a hospital for the sick and insane, but they had not matured into anything more than local and temporary helps. They entered heartily into this

movement and constituted a considerable majority of its contributors and managers. The first president of the board was Joshua Crosby, who was soon succeeded by Franklin. The Legislature made an appropriation, though most of the money was raised from private sources. Some houses were leased to provide quarters for needy cases, and in 1756 the new buildings were in such a state of completion as to justify their use. From that year to this, with some crippling during revolutionary times, it has carried on its beneficent work. In the early days it was as much the pride of the Quakers as the College was of the Church of England people. It was the first hospital in America.

The American Philosophical Society was formed by the union of two other societies in 1769. It was originally a benevolent project to extend a knowledge of useful arts. Franklin, Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson, and other illustrious men were presidents, and it still meets in its building in Independence Square, an honorable body of scholars.

The Junta, Franklin's club for general discussions, had collected a little library as early as 1731. Logan's advice was taken as to the purchase of books, and Peter Collinson expended the money in London. This was the beginning of the Philadelphia Library. It grew by donations as well as purchase, and was housed for a time in the State house. One by one other libraries were merged with it. It never had a home of its own till 1790, the year of Franklin's death, at which time a building was erected on Fifth Street, and the Loganian Library was added to it. It now owns two fine buildings in Philadelphia, and two hundred thousand volumes.

In 1719 the first newspaper, "The American Weekly Mercury" was published in Philadelphia by Andrew Bradford. In 1728 Keimer, Franklin's employer, started a second, to which he gave the modest title of "Universal Instructor in all Arts & Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette." Franklin bought this, and extinguished the first part of the title, as also the habit of reprinting articles from the Encyclopædia. Sower's paper, started in 1739, had, as we

have seen, wide circulation and influence. A number of others, which were mostly short lived, were started just prior to the Revolution.

Philadelphia, even in early days, was noted for the plainness and uniformity of its architecture. A few buildings still existing stand out as exponents of the good taste of colonial designers. One of these is Christ Church, on Second Street. Another is the Pennsylvania Hospital, on Pine Street. But the building which of all others will always possess the greatest interest on account of simple and appropriate architecture, as well as for the important events of which it was the home, is the State house. Its present restoration is intended to renew the appearance and condition of 1776.

In 1729 the assembly, which had been meeting in the little court-house in the centre of Market Street at Second, appropriated two thousand pounds to put up a public building for the province. There was the usual difference about site and plan, and both were finally decided by Andrew Hamilton, speaker of the assembly, to whose good taste we are indebted for the arrangement and appearance of the State house.

In 1736 the building was first used, though not completed for some time after. The bell was ordered from London by a committee, of which Isaac Norris was chairman, in 1751. When it arrived, it was set up, and cracked "by the stroke of the clapper." Two workmen of Philadelphia offered to recast it, putting in more copper. After two attempts they produced a satisfactory result.

In the State house sat the Pennsylvania Assembly and the provincial court. Here many of those stirring popular meetings which inaugurated the Revolution were held. Here the Declaration of Independence was debated, passed, and signed. Here through the trying days of the Revolution met the Continental Congress, except when it was flying over the country to escape British invaders. Here were signed the articles of confederation, and here met the immortal convention which drafted the Constitution of the

United States. Here also the convention of the State of Pennsylvania ratified that instrument, and here met the body which framed the second constitution of the State in 1790. There were besides banquets, receptions, and committee meetings without number, papers conceived and written which have made the history of the nation, speeches delivered by all the honored statesmen of the last half of the eighteenth century. As a treasure-house of glorious memories it is dedicated "by the citizens of Philadelphia to their fellow-countrymen of the United States."

The chief industry was, of course, agriculture. The Germans were excellent farmers, neat, thrifty, and industrious, but rather conservative. On the death of a land-owner his estate would be divided among his sons, each one adding a large barn and a small house to his subdivision. Women worked with the men in the field, and every piece of human labor was utilized. They seldom hired workers, for the family was sufficient, and neatness and bountiful care of all stock were characteristic.

The farmers raised enough for the province, and could furnish for exportation considerable quantities of corn, wheat, flour, beef, and pork.

Commerce was active, and large fortunes were rapidly made in Philadelphia. In 1773 about eight hundred vessels entered and cleared, and carried produce valued at seven hundred thousand pounds. Some of this was made up of re-shipments from the West Indies.

England made all she could out of this commerce. All colonial trade must be in English-built ships and belong to Englishmen, and in many cases there was a prohibition on any trade which did not pass through an English port. Colonies were to be used for the benefit of the mother country.

The same policy was a bar to manufacturing enterprises. The colonists could find work for their mechanics in the rapidly growing cities, and the constant demand for wagons, farm implements, and furniture. They also attempted to

start manufactories for their flax and wool, but here the parent country stepped in with a prohibition on exportation. In 1719 Parliament declared that "erecting manufactories in the colonies tends to lessen the dependence on Great Britain." What was especially grievous to Pennsylvania was a restriction on the manufacture of iron and steel, though pig-iron could be exported. Thus, while her rapidly increasing population made great industries possible for home demand, there was a continual clog on enterprise in the English laws.

In the troubles which preceded the Revolution, when non-importation of English goods was resorted to, to drive the English government to terms, many new manufactories were projected. But the fever would pass away with the obnoxious laws, and the enterprise of the people would again turn to agriculture, the weaving of cloth, and the making of implements for home consumption. Thus matters continued till the Revolution (while it lasted destructive to enterprise) broke the bands which England had tied, and opened a great career of prosperity in manufactures for Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XIII.

1776–1790.

Council of Safety—State Constitution of 1776—Revolutionary Party in Power—Loyalists and Peace Men—Campaign of 1776—Battle of Trenton—Campaign of 1777—Battles of Brandywine and Germantown—Valley Forge—British in Philadelphia—Evacuation of Philadelphia—Arnold—Carlisle and Roberts—Riots in the City—Attack on the College—Wyoming Massacre and Campaign of Sullivan—Yorktown—Dickinson and Smith restored to Favor—Robert Morris—Penns bought out—Slavery Abolished—Revolt of the Continentals—Colleges—Franklin President—Constitution of the United States—Pennsylvania ratifies.

THE regular authorities of the province under the old charter, while probably representing the actual sentiment of the majority, were fast being pushed aside by the more active revolutionary party. The Council of Safety, by general consent of this party, was gradually absorbing the functions of government. This extra-constitutional body could only be justified by temporary necessities, and the Revolutionists were anxious to have a more solid basis of government. This they secured by their new constitution.

When the Constitutional Convention assembled it became the governing power of the colony, appointing the delegates to Congress and declaring Pennsylvania an independent State. It attended to the organization of the Associators, and taxed heavily non-combatants. Its president was Franklin, and besides him its most conspicuous member was the astronomer Rittenhouse. The main work appears to have been done by a Scotch school-master, James Cannon, an Irishman, George Bryan, and a free Quaker, Timothy Matlack.

The other members were not extraordinary in their capabilities. The resulting constitution, which was to go into effect in November, 1776, without being submitted to a

vote of the people, was an experimental contrivance, and had a life of only fourteen years. It, however, placed the State, as we must now call it, in the complete control of the friends of the Revolution, and made harmony between its officers and Congress.

After the usual declarations of rights, the constitution provided for a single legislative house, as heretofore, to be called the General Assembly, to be elected annually by every freeman of twenty-one or over who had paid taxes during the past year. They had the usual privileges of legislative assemblies of the time; sitting on their own adjournments, judging the qualifications of their own members, instituting impeachments, and so on. The text was simplified, and, of course, contained no reference to the English government. It required from officials only an expression of a belief in God and in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, thus for the first time opening the doors to Catholics, Jews, and Deists. At first representation was to be by counties, but as soon as a list of taxables should be made out this should be the basis.

The executive body, the "Supreme Executive Council," was to consist of twelve members, one elected by each of the eleven counties, and one by the City of Philadelphia. Its president and vice-president were to be chosen from its number at a joint meeting of council and assembly, and by a process of rotation each member might serve for three years, and be ineligible for the next two elections. This council appointed the judges and all officers not elected, and had the right to grant reprieves, pardons, and licenses. The head of the State was its president, who had very little power. The fear of autocracy, characteristic of the times, is strikingly shown by this arrangement.

All officers must declare their allegiance to the State. Foreigners had all the privileges of natives, except that they could not hold office for two years. A school, or schools, were to be supported at public expense in every county.

Every seven years "The Council of Censors" was to be

elected, two from each city and county, who should hold office for one year. They were to inquire if the constitution had been observed, if the legislative and executive officers had done their duty, if the taxes had been properly levied and collected, and the laws duly executed. When the constitution needed revision they were authorized, after due notice, to call a convention.

The principal defects of this constitution as compared with others which were adopted about this time, were found in the provisions for a single legislative body and a multiple executive. It was more liberal in the matter of tests than the Penn Charter of 1701, in which respect it went back to Penn's original ideas; and the same may be said of the penal system enacted by the assembly in response to its directions. The most important advance was the public provision for education. The new Council of Censors proved itself an unnecessary and troublesome body.

Its first meeting was in 1783, when it organized, and a year later made a lengthy report, to which, however, a large minority dissented. Composed of two members from each county, and requiring a two-thirds majority to call a convention to amend the constitution, it practically placed the power in the hands of a few from the smaller counties. These were satisfied with the constitution as it was, and were thus able to defeat all changes. The Council of Censors proved thus to be an extremely conservative, and in that time of rapid changes, a mischievous body. It did, however, succeed in pointing out great weaknesses in the prevailing system and in its execution, and in showing the low standard which prevailed among the holders of public offices in many instances. By the time of the next meeting, in 1790, the State was about adopting a new constitution, and in it there was no provision for such a council.

The constitution also authorized the reduction of the number of offences punishable by death. The legislature, however, did not immediately act on the matter, and so late as 1784 a man was hanged in Reading for stealing nine dollars. The sentiment was growing, and after the Revo-

lution F. A. Muhlenberg and George Ross would never vote to execute any criminal. The penalty after 1786 was confined to treason and murder in the first degree, thus going back to the conditions existing prior to 1718.

The constitution and its enforcement threw the whole power of the State of Pennsylvania into the hands of the radical revolutionary party, who now called themselves the Constitutionalists. The opposition, the Anti-Constitutionalists or Republicans, was made up of various elements,—the old proprietary party, who mostly in time went over to the royalists, the Quakers, who withdrew entirely from public affairs and took no part except as sufferers, and the moderate men, like Dickinson, Robert Morris, and Mifflin. These last were friends of the Revolution, but, having property and standing, were alarmed at the violence, disregard of civil rights, and precipitancy of the Constitutionalists, and led the active portion of the opposition party. Thomas Wharton, Jr., was the first president of the council, but he, dying soon, was succeeded by Joseph Reed in 1778 and by William Moore in 1781.

The constitution was perhaps the most democratic instrument of its kind ever written in America. Almost all power was placed in the hands of the annually elected assembly, while the Executive Council and the Council of Censors were supposed to represent the equality of the counties. The partisan conflict raged fiercely around it. Even after it was adopted, attacks on it did not cease. There were continual efforts at revision, which were foiled by the exigencies of war and the stubbornness of its defenders. For and against it the party lines were drawn, and this condition continued till 1790. When the Federal Constitution came before the people for adoption, antipathies already formed dictated the attitude of the people of Pennsylvania towards this great instrument.

The situation was further complicated by an enactment of the new assembly, requiring every one to take an oath or affirmation of allegiance to the new constitution and abjuration to George III. The Moravians, Schwenckfelders,

Dunkers, and Mennonites refused to take this, and instructions were given that it should not be offered them unless they showed some signs of disaffection. The Quakers, who were numerous in and around Philadelphia, in accordance with their notions of the illegality of the new government and their intentions of neutrality, also refused, and were fined and imprisoned. Many moderate and hesitating people were brought to a sharp decision, and some went over to the British. These tests were not repealed at the close of the war. They disfranchised a large number of the best educated and most wealthy citizens, leaving the suffrage in some districts in the hands of less able men. The result was that in efficiency and moderation the government was distinctly inferior to former times and to the years following 1789; there were many honest and patriotic men, but they could not always control the violent and mercenary element. So, rent with internal dissensions, the war closed in upon Pennsylvania.

The British late in 1776 made a determined effort to take Philadelphia. This city was the home of the Continental Congress, and its capture might be supposed to discourage the Americans, and thwart any hopes of an alliance with the French. In complete command of New York and vicinity, they set out across New Jersey. Washington's little army of three thousand ragged soldiers retreated before them and placed the Delaware between themselves and the invaders. Mifflin was sent to Philadelphia to stir up some aid. The Continental Congress appealed in all directions, but were powerless to direct anything. The Council of Safety urged the Associators who had been so long drilling to turn out. The new assembly offered rewards for enlisted men, and fifteen hundred of the Pennsylvania militia were soon on the march to re-enforce Washington. The situation seemed almost desperate. The American army, made up of men enlisted for short periods, was continually changing. The congress could only appeal to the States, and the hearts of many people, discouraged by the apparently hopeless task of fighting the forces of a great empire, were already

repentant and faint-hearted. The genius of Washington turned the day.

An advance detachment of Hessians had encamped at Trenton. On the night of Christmas, a night of intense cold and a blinding snow-storm, which deterred some of his generals, Washington led his troops through the floating ice of the Delaware above the town, and at daybreak attacked the Hessian camp. The victory was complete. Not an American was killed, but about one thousand prisoners and much arms and ammunition rewarded the courageous Americans. Washington recrossed the Delaware, Philadelphia was for a time saved, and the friends of independence felt renewed hope. Congress returned from Baltimore, whither it had fled on the approach of the enemy, and Washington had the satisfaction, after a little rest, of again leading his army over the Delaware, chasing the British across New Jersey, and seeing them embark for New York.

Robert Morris went from house to house in Philadelphia borrowing money for the army, and Washington was granted the power he long had desired to enlist men himself and appoint the officers. While the Americans were desperately poor, they had lost no courage when the next attack of the British on Philadelphia was made. They could afford to celebrate the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with bonfires and rejoicing.

It was for a long time doubtful how this attack would proceed, and Washington remained in northern New Jersey in anxious expectation through the early months of 1777. Howe showed his purpose later by evacuating North Jersey and collecting a fleet of transports in New York harbor. On July 23 they sailed, and after beating about the mouths of the Delaware and Chesapeake, on August 25 they landed at the head of Elk River, a branch of the latter bay, fifty-four miles southwest of Philadelphia. It was a well appointed and thoroughly disciplined army of over seventeen thousand men which followed Sir William Howe on this expedition to the seat of what little central power the united

colonies possessed. Against this, Washington, even when re-enforced by all the militia the power of the Congress or of the States could call in by appeal and promises, could not command more than eleven thousand five hundred men, inferior in every respect in drill and equipment.

By this time Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga, and under the impulse of this success many Frenchmen had volunteered in the American army. Among these was the Marquis Lafayette, who became one of Washington's most efficient and trusted generals. The State government, though disliked by a majority of the citizens, did its best, and through its Board of War offered bounties for volunteers and equipped its troops as it could. With all the forces he could command, Washington, to encourage the friends of the cause, marched southward through the streets of Philadelphia with sprigs of green to conceal the lack of uniform, and, after some skirmishing, posted his army on the east side of Brandywine Creek, at Chadd's Ford, and awaited the approach of the British.

Howe marched to Kennett Square, where his force divided. Sending on a small detachment to engage the Americans at Chadd's Ford, the main body turned northward and crossed the Brandywine, about four miles above. Washington had an idea of this, and wished to attack the enemy opposite him, a project which might have changed the fortunes of the day. But deceived by conflicting rumors he remained stationary until the main body was approaching his flank. Then hastily swinging about some of his troops to the Birmingham Meeting-House, the main battle was here fought from behind the grave-yard walls and on the hills to the south. The Americans were defeated with a loss of about one thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the British lost half as many. Lafayette was wounded; Washington retreated in good order to Chester, and thence to Philadelphia.

To take Philadelphia Howe must cross the Schuylkill. This he could not do at the city. The floating bridges were removed, all boats were moved to the city side, and

the river could not be forded. He must strike higher up, and march across Chester County towards Swedes Ford, now Norristown. Anthony Wayne, one of Washington's most daring and efficient generals, was encamped near Paoli, his native place, and on the night of September 20, he was surprised, the British killing with their bayonets three hundred of his men, the rest mostly escaping. This is called in history the Paoli massacre.

Washington was ready for a new battle, but a heavy rainstorm wet the ammunition of both armies, and the fight did not come off. A few days' manœuvring enabled Howe to cross the Schuylkill at Swedes Ford, and Philadelphia was taken. Howe marched leisurely in through Germantown, and entered the city on the 26th.

In the mean time there was great excitement in Philadelphia. The Congress fled northward, and by a circuitous route reached Lancaster, where they set up their government. The State authorities followed them, and this little inland town became for a time the capital of the United States, and of the State. Before leaving, the Congress had advised the arrest of leading royalists and of any who would be likely to obstruct the American cause. The out-and-out Tories, like Galloway and the Allens, had already joined the British army. Those arrested under order of Congress were mostly lukewarm and neutral people, about half of whom, including Provost Smith, gave the required promises of allegiance, and were released. The rest, mostly Friends, were arbitrarily sentenced to banishment, all the while stoutly protesting their civil rights. They were carried to Winchester, Virginia, and kept till spring, when they were released and treated with courtesy and some approach to apology, for no act which would aid the British could be justly charged upon them.

The British retained their occupancy of the city till the following summer. The first step was to obtain provisions. Washington's troops commanded the country, and, save for an occasional foray and the secret admission of farmers' wagons, not much could be gained from this side.

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

The forts below the city, held by Americans, prevented the approach of all vessels, and if these could be held, it seemed probable that the large British army would be starved out. The attack and defence of these forts were desperate, but the superior resources of the British finally prevailed, and before the end of November boats were unloading ample supplies on the Delaware wharves.

In the mean time a new attack showed that the American army was not crushed. A large part of Howe's forces did not enter the city, but remained at Germantown. On the early morning of October 4, Washington, dividing his army, marched by three parallel roads to surprise and attack this detachment. For a time he carried all before him. But a British colonel threw himself with a small company into the "Chew House," and the central column was delayed by the attempt to take this. A heavy fog settled down over the armies. The Americans became confused. The other divisions had pressed on, but hearing firing in the rear were uncertain of their support, and hesitated, and mistook each other for the enemy. Howe was able to collect his forces, and Washington, finding the possibility of surprise over, retreated in good order.

This was the last fighting, except light skirmishes, of the winter. Washington encamped first at Whitemarsh, whither Howe marched to attack him, but finding him prepared, he returned to the city without a battle. About December 20, Washington went to winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, and Howe settled down to a winter of comfort and revelry in Philadelphia. He burned the country houses of the wealthy Philadelphians to the north of the city. He built a line of redoubts from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and thus protected on the only side open to land attack, with the rivers free for supplies, he could feel at ease. Nevertheless a daring cavalry officer, Allan McLane, scoured the country up to the British lines and even within them, cut off supplies and set fire to entrenchments. Friends within the city kept Washington informed of all excursions.

In the main, the British were quiet. The officers had plenty of money, time, and talent, and Philadelphia society was fond of gaiety. There were dances and improvised theatricals, and dinners in profusion. The social leader was Major André, whose unfortunate fate in connection with the treason of Benedict Arnold is well known. Artist, wit, and dashing soldier, he was the favorite of all, and it was through his efforts and resources that the "Mischianza," the great ball by which the British officers paid their farewell to their popular commander, Sir William Howe, was given. Howe was succeeded in May by Sir Henry Clinton.

In the mean time the American army was enduring as best it might the sufferings of Valley Forge. The Continental currency had diminished in value, so that bushels of it were required for camp supplies. The country around was foraged to exhaustion. The government departments were utterly inefficient. Nearly three thousand of the soldiers were barefoot, and none had sufficient clothing. Blankets were so scarce that many had to sit up all night around the fires, and not a few deserted. There was also a movement to remove Washington from his post, and substitute Gates, who had received Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. But the friends of Washington and his own self-command and wisdom soon brought confusion to this scheme.

Still worse, if possible, was the condition of the American prisoners within the Walnut Street Prison. Starving amidst plenty, freezing within sight of abundant warmth, they died by the hundreds, and were buried in pits in Washington Square.

The British were gaining nothing by their occupation of Philadelphia, and in June decided to evacuate it. They crossed the Delaware as quietly as possible, and again marched across New Jersey. Washington, who knew all their movements, was immediately on their heels. The Tories went with them with all their baggage. They knew the fate awaiting them if they remained. Clinton was faithful to them, and they and the British army, with the loss of

some stragglers, got safely into New York. The people of Pennsylvania saw no more of the British army within their borders to the end of the war, save only the unfortunate settlers in the Wyoming Valley.

Washington left in command at Philadelphia, General Arnold, who immediately proceeded to gather in wealth by various enterprises, legal and illegal, and to spend it in ostentatious living. He was soon in debt. He had been a brilliant officer in the attack upon Quebec and in the Saratoga fight, and was wounded in the cause. He had claims against Congress for expenses, which that impecunious and inefficient body neglected to settle, and he became soured by the apparent lack of recognition of his sufferings and services. He was now nearly forty years old, and having purchased a fine country seat, and married the belle of the city, "Peggy" Shippen, proceeded to reimburse himself, and probably began the correspondence with the British, which resulted in his treason. Complaints against his management were many and severe.

Indeed, the city was a scene of confusion and bitter controversy. Mob law was threatened, and was only averted by vigorous military measures. Moderate men were attacked as enemies. Somebody must suffer, and as the prominent Tories had all escaped, two men, Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, were arrested. Carlisle had accepted a position to grant passes in and out the British lines during their occupancy. Roberts, a miller of Lower Merion, had gone to Howe as he marched across Chester County and asked a detachment to intercept the Virginia prisoners then on their way to exile. He was refused, and remained within the British lines, acting, perhaps unwillingly, as guide to foraging parties. They were tried before Chief Justice McKean, and found guilty of treason. Hundreds of people of unquestioned character and patriotism testified to their good lives, and asked their pardon, and it was generally felt that death was too severe a penalty for their crimes, but they were "hung as an example."

Committees appointed at town meetings undertook to

regulate prices, to stop the depreciation of paper currency, to arrest Tories, Quakers, speculators, and lawyers who defended criminals. A mob attacked the house of James Wilson, a distinguished lawyer and signer of the Declaration, in which were collected Robert Morris, General Mifflin, and other friends. The lower windows were barricaded, and a fight ensued between those inside and those without, in which several were killed. A troop of horse finally dispersed the rioters. City government disappeared when the charter fell in 1776, and was not resumed till 1789, and the affairs of the city were managed by State officials. Though the mob was generally kept quiet, except in the matter of breaking windows of unpopular citizens, Philadelphia was a scene of turbulence and disorder till the end of the war.

She had indeed been a great sufferer. The beautiful trees which had shaded her streets had been cut down by the British for firewood. Her finest surrounding residences had been burned. Her streets, hitherto kept well cleaned and lighted for those days by the exertions of Franklin and others, were made the receptacles of all manner of filth. Darkness at night encouraged burglary. Many of the best houses had been wrecked by mobs. Many were tenantless. Laws were but little observed, and it became a question with the best citizens whether having rescued their city from the British she would fall under the worse domination of criminals. Business was topsy-turvy through the inconstant currency, of which four hundred dollars might be required to procure a pair of boots one day, and four hundred and fifty dollars a few days later. Speculators were getting rich, honest business men were discouraged. And yet this city was the seat of the government to which the French envoy and soldiers were now introduced.

Franklin returned from England in 1775, and was sent over, shortly after the Declaration was signed, to France, to do there what he could for the cause. His scientific reputation, his conversational powers, his republican ways, his venerable appearance, his diplomatic skill, and his standard of morals, suited the French people exactly, and when in

JAMES WILSON.

1777 Burgoyne had surrendered, he was able to negotiate an alliance, without which it is questionable if America would have succeeded in the war. Monsieur Gerard, the first representative of the new alliance, and his suite, reached Philadelphia in 1778, and a new series of balls and dances were demanded to honor the French guests.

State finances were in a bad way. The war took money and reduced trade. The issues of paper money, in provincial times kept in moderation with great good judgment, now became excessive, and depreciation was inevitable. Nor could severe laws establishing prices and making legal tenders do anything to restore confidence. All was confusion and uncertainty.

The Constitutionalists attacked the college, the last refuge of the moderate men. Many of its supporters had been royalists. Provost Smith, while aiding the American cause in its early stages, had been supposed to grow lukewarm, but as an institution it had done nothing traitorous. The Anti-Constitutional party, however, derived a certain prestige from their connection with it, and this it was resolved to destroy. In 1779 the college charter was annulled, and the property was given to a new board, to be called the University of the State of Pennsylvania. The old trustees, however, kept up their organization, and for a time two worthless rival institutions, where there was hardly patronage for one, attempted to perform the functions of a college. The medical school was suspended. The Episcopal Academy, still existing, was founded by the friends of the old college, and this state of division was continued till 1791, when the college and the university were united under the title of the University of Pennsylvania. Perhaps something of denominationalism was cut out of the institution by the attack, and it was made more truly representative of the State, but it was an unnecessary and unfortunate piece of surgery.

In another part of the State still sadder scenes were being enacted. We have seen that a little body of Connecticut settlers had made a pleasant home for themselves in the fertile valley of Wyoming. The Six Nations with British

allies had threatened it with destruction, and the defeat of Burgoyne released them for the bloody work. The most of the able-bodied men of the valley were in the Continental army, and hearing of the expected attack they asked to be allowed to defend their homes. There was some delay, and they arrived too late. The old men and the boys, three hundred in number, went out to meet, under Colonel Zebulon Butler, the five hundred British and seven hundred Indians of the invading force, knowing full well the fate that awaited them if defeated. The result could not be doubted from the first. The defenders soon gave way, and the cruel Indian massacre followed. Men, women, and children were murdered and tortured. The three hundred were nearly all killed in the battle or when flying. The few survivors entrenched themselves in Forty Fort, but finally surrendered. Every house and barn in the valley was burned, and every person not escaping to the woods was brutally killed. The squaws were especially active with firebrand and tomahawk. The army of allies then marched northward, leaving only desolation, and the Wyoming massacre was accomplished. It was a fearful error as well as a crime for the British. It nerved the hearts of patriots everywhere. Told in Europe, and growing in horror as it travelled, it created sympathy for the Americans and detestation for the British, and Chatham thundered against the policy of "bringing the horrors of barbarous war upon our brethren."

It was concluded to stop forever the possibilities of such ravages. The next summer, 1779, General Sullivan, with three thousand men, marched into the Indian country in western New York, where they, in a semi-civilized manner, cultivated the ground. With a cruelty almost equal to that of the Indians, he killed all he could find, destroyed the crops in the ground, and burned forty Indian villages. The Six Nations as a power were annihilated, and the scattered remains had to be fed by the British through the rest of the war.

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, in 1781, practically ended the war, though peace was not declared till 1783.

ROBERT MORRIS.

With great bonfires and a general illumination, Philadelphia celebrated the victory, and set herself to clear up the *débris* of the war. A better spirit began to prevail. John Dickinson, who had been almost exiled, was elected to the council from the County of Philadelphia, and by a vote of forty-one to thirty-one of council and assembly was made president, practically the governor of the State. The Anti-Constitutionalists were again in power. Provost Smith also felt the smiles of fortune, and though some years elapsed before he again received the charter of his college, it was withheld by technical opposition against the wish of the assembly. Robert Morris, who had never lost the confidence of Washington, was put in charge of the finances of the confederation in 1781, and wrought a wonderful transformation. Troops were fed, clothed, and paid, and order came out of chaos.

To aid in the work, he established in the same year the Bank of North America, which received a charter both from his State and the Confederation. The first was annulled by the jealousy of the Constitutionalists, but he managed to secure other charters, and the bank maintains its existence to the present day. He resigned his place as superintendent of finance in 1784.

At the close of the war, Pennsylvania contained nearly three hundred and fifty thousand people. Its wealth may be adjudged by its position in the list, when the Continental Congress called for the quotas of the State. Thus in 1783 Massachusetts was placed first, with a quota of three hundred and twenty thousand dollars; Pennsylvania second, with three hundred thousand dollars; and Virginia third, with two hundred and ninety thousand dollars. In Philadelphia there were about six thousand houses and forty thousand people. The old Tory aristocracy was almost destroyed, but there were other people who had become rich by the war, and gaiety and high living prevailed. It was, moreover, the capital city, and this brought many people and some business.

The interest of the Penns had been bought out by the

assembly in 1779 for one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, not an illiberal sum when it is remembered that they were royalists, and that the purchase did not include their private estates and their manors, some of which are in possession of the family to this day.

Another event of these years shows the growth of humane sentiment, even in the midst of war. The Friends had been working with their members and others to set all their own slaves free, and had finally accomplished the result during the war. In 1778, George Bryan, then vice-president of the council and acting president, urged the assembly to pass a bill freeing all slaves born after date. Reed, the next president, renewed the recommendation. Bryan was then a member of the assembly. He vigorously urged the movement, and on March 1, 1780, it was carried by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-one. Pennsylvania led the way, and Massachusetts was only a few months behind. "Our bill," Bryan wrote to Samuel Adams, "astonishes and pleases the Quakers. They looked for no such benevolent issue of our new government, exercised by Presbyterians." The Friends were certainly pleased, and began again to take an interest in politics. By the bill all children of negroes born after its passage, became free at twenty-one years of age.

In June, 1783, three hundred old Continental soldiers marched in from Lancaster, demanding a settlement of their accounts. It was a mutiny, but the poor fellows had endured the sufferings of the war, and, now that peace was declared, asked their arrears of pay. They called on the council and issued a peremptory demand for an answer within twenty minutes, which was unanimously rejected. They paraded around the State house where Congress sat, and that body considered that they were "grossly insulted," and adjourned to meet in Princeton, advising the council to call out the militia. But the temper of the militia could not be relied on unless the mutineers should attempt some disorder, and, except to talk and bluster, they did not seem likely to do anything serious. The matter ended with some sensible advice from John Dickinson to the soldiers, the

intervention of General St. Clair with them, and their return to Lancaster. The event probably hastened the settlement of revolutionary claims. Congress was invited to return, but sat in New York and elsewhere till 1790.

The test of allegiance required by the law of 1777 was probably unconstitutional, but it had served its purpose to give to the revolutionary party the complete control of the State government. About one-half of the voters of the State, otherwise qualified, were deprived of the right of suffrage, and now that the war was over, as many of them were the most conscientious citizens, it was thought it might be safe to repeal the act. The attempt was made in 1784, and strongly urged by General Wayne, though not accomplished till five years later.

Dickinson was re-elected president of the State in 1783, and again in 1784. In 1783 the Presbyterians, not satisfied with the condition of things in the Philadelphia colleges, asked and received a charter for a new institution in their centre of population in the Cumberland Valley. Dr. Benjamin Rush was most active in forwarding the cause, and the president of the State made a personal donation, and encouraged it in every way possible. Though of Friendly connection he was a great lover of education, and in his honor it was named Dickinson College. Like Princeton of New Jersey, and Hampden and Sydney of Virginia, and later, Washington and Jefferson of Pennsylvania, its friends like to trace its impulse back to the "Log College" of Tennent. In 1833 it was transferred to the Methodists.

In 1785 Franklin returned from France, full of years and honors. His suavity and diplomatic skill, combined with the hard sense of John Adams and John Jay, had concluded the treaty with England, which secured independence and retained the friendship of France. He was made president of the council immediately on his return, and re-elected in 1786 and 1787, an honor only, in his case, for he allowed much of the work to be done by the vice-president. He was Pennsylvania's great man, and spent his old age, disturbed by disease it is true, the recipient of honorable

attention by all. Mifflin succeeded him as president in 1788, and continued in the place till a new constitution in 1790 abolished the post.

Philadelphia was the meeting-place of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States in 1787. The Articles of Confederation, adopted in 1776, in the hurry of the early days of the war, but never fully ratified till its close, had performed the useful task of a temporary government. But it was evident they would not last much longer. In several respects they were hopelessly faulty. It required nine of the States to perform any act of legislation. The majority of the members of five of the smallest States could block any and all actions, no matter how important. Again, there was no way of enforcing obedience. There was practically no executive or judiciary. If they wanted troops or if they wanted money they could only appeal to the States, which did as they chose. It was impossible to collect funds pledged for the payment of the soldiers, for the principal of the debt when due, for the ordinary expenses of government. Thus the estimated expenses of 1782 were nine million dollars. It was proposed to borrow four million dollars of this, and raise the balance by taxation. But only about four hundred thousand dollars were given by the States, and there was no means of inducing them to forward the rest. The paper money was almost worthless. Thus the country, while growing rapidly in wealth and population, was losing its credit and drifting into anarchy. These were the considerations which prompted the convention of 1787.

The convention met in the State house in May. Washington was President, no other name was mentioned. Pennsylvania sent Franklin, James Wilson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, George Clymer, with others of less note. John Dickinson came from Delaware, for prior to 1790 the public men of the two States were largely interchangeable, and defended with great ability the rights of the small States. With him came his friend George Read, and three others. Alexander Hamilton, of New York, and James

Madison, of Virginia, were the strongest men of the convention. The doors were locked, and when they were opened in September the Constitution of the United States had been constructed. Till after the death of James Madison, the last survivor of the noted company, no one knew the proceedings. But the publication of his journal revealed the discussions fruitful for the future, by which the immortal work was produced.

The day after the convention adjourned, Franklin, as president of the executive council, full of hope for the country, presented the Constitution to the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and the struggle for ratification began. Strangely enough, the members, with some noted exceptions, divided on the old lines of Constitutionalists and Anti-Constitutionalists. The latter now became Federalists, adopting a national title, and the former Anti-Federalists. The two-bodied legislature provided for the nation was felt to be a rebuke to the Pennsylvania constitution, and the stronger central government was especially opposed by the ardent Scotch-Irish of the western part of the State.

Philadelphia and the southeastern counties were tired of mob law and anarchy, and were determined to force through the measure. Their methods cannot be altogether commended. It was nearly time for the legislature to end, and a new one to be elected. It was supposed the election would turn on this question, and the Anti-Federalists were promising themselves a rousing campaign. But George Clymer, in one of the last days of the assembly, offered resolutions to hold a convention in November. The first of these was approved by a vote of forty-three to nineteen, and it was evident the others would follow at the next session. The nineteen resolved to absent themselves and break a quorum, and all that the majority could do was to bring their party up to within two of the number required to make a valid vote. But the party resources were not exhausted. When the assembly met the next morning, a crowd of men attended, forcing before them two of the nineteen whom they found in their rooms, and keeping them

there struggling and protesting till the quorum was made and the convention voted.

Then followed the campaign for delegates. A fierce pamphlet war followed. What do we know, said the opponents, of this Constitution, hatched in secret, and sprung upon us? Washington is a good soldier, but knows nothing of government; Franklin is in his dotage; Hamilton and Madison but boys; Dickinson and Robert Morris for a long time opposed the Declaration, and the Scotchman, James Wilson, who bore the brunt of the defence, is a dangerous man, friendly to monarchy. It has all the appearance of a British plot to destroy our liberties. So said the Anti-Federalists, but the eastern counties would not listen. Philadelphia elected Wilson and his associates by a vote of nearly ten to one over Rittenhouse and his friends. Franklin himself, who, perhaps for the sake of old comradeship, was a candidate on the opposition ticket, receiving only two hundred and thirty-five against five times as many for the unquestioned friends of the Constitution.

The State convention met on November 21. The eastern counties voted solidly in the affirmative. The western almost as solidly in the negative. On December 12, the Constitution was adopted, forty-six to twenty-three. Delaware, under Dickinson's influence, had voted unanimously the same way five days earlier, being the first to adopt the Constitution, and Pennsylvania was second. The example of Pennsylvania decided the question.

By July 4, 1788, ten States had ratified, and the greatest procession ever seen in Philadelphia marched through the streets, and listened to an oration by James Wilson.

The making of constitutions became contagious. The Federalists, flushed with victory, determined to have a new one for Pennsylvania. A convention was called and sat in Philadelphia in November, 1789. After framing the constitution, it adjourned to permit discussion, and nearly a year later, without submitting it to a vote of the people, it was declared adopted.

The important changes were borrowed from the Federal

Constitution. There was to be but one executive officer, the governor, and two houses of legislature. The Council of Censors was abolished. The governor appointed judges and county officers, and became, in contrast with the president of the supreme executive council of the constitution of 1776, a most potential official.

A new charter was given to Philadelphia, and Samuel Powel, the last mayor under the Penn charter, in 1775–76, was elected as the first under the new charter in 1789.

In 1790, Franklin died in his eighty-fifth year. He was buried in Christ Church yard at Fifth and Arch Streets, by the side of his wife, where a simple stone marks the graves.

Through these troubled times there came forward a leader of the Scotch-Irish of the western part of the State, William Findley, of Westmoreland County. He was a bitter opponent of the Federal Constitution, and refused to sign the ratification. Afterwards, however, as a strong Republican, he was elected to Congress and served for twenty-four years, becoming the "Father of the House." He was a shrewd politician, and no man had a stronger hold than he on his constituents.

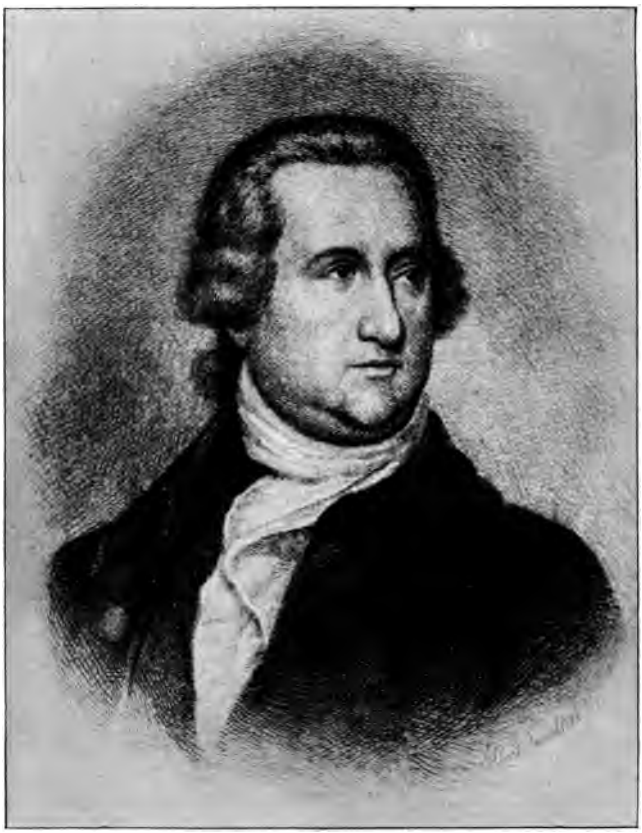
CHAPTER XIV.

1790–1799.

Philadelphia the Capital City—President Washington and National Politics—Hamilton and the United States Bank—State Constitution of 1790—Governor Mifflin—Revival of Industry—Colleges—Yellow Fever—Whiskey Rebellion—Albert Gallatin—Robert Morris—Fries Rebellion—Dr. George Logan—Removal of Government to Washington and Lancaster.

IN December, 1790, Philadelphia became the seat of the government of the United States, and continued to be so till the summer of 1800, when Washington was ready for occupancy. The President occupied Robert Morris's house on Market Street below Sixth. This had been successively the home of Richard Penn, of Sir William Howe, of General Arnold, and of the great financier, who insisted that President Washington should take it with some of the furniture. Congress sat in the building at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, which was given up by the Philadelphia courts for its use. The Senate of twenty-six members was in the second story, under the presidency of John Adams, the Vice-President, and the House of Representatives below them, with Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, the son of the great Lutheran leader, Henry M. Muhlenberg, as Speaker. At Chestnut and Fifth Streets, after 1791, sat the Supreme Court of the United States, the first chief justice being John Jay, of New York. James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, was an associate.

Those were difficult days for the new republic. The duties and prerogatives of the different branches of the government were not strictly defined. There were jealousies and disputings. The Federalists feared mob-law, were distrustful of the people, and were continually mindful to strengthen the central government. The opposing party,



FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG.

which could not afford to call itself any longer Anti-Federalists, for the Constitution was becoming immensely popular, was known as the Democratic-Republican, or by either name separately. They were fearful of an autocrat, who would be ultimately a king, in the presidential chair. They looked with dislike upon any titles of honor, or even assertions of dignity in the person of Washington or of John Adams. They were zealous defenders of popular and State rights, and looked with suspicion upon the brilliant financiering of Alexander Hamilton, which was creating order in the treasury and prosperity in the country, but which was undoubtedly buttressing the national government with the support of moneyed men and interests.

Moreover, foreign affairs were dividing the people. Hatred of England and love and gratitude to France for their parts in the war were still strong, and when in 1792–93 the French people drove out the king and established a republic, the enthusiasm of America knew no bounds. Another war with the enemies of France would have been, for a little time, a very popular thing. Shall we desert the cause which supported us in our hour of trial? said the people, and it required all the influence and wisdom of Washington and Hamilton to keep the country steady.

Washington was besieged in his house in Philadelphia by a mob, demanding war with England, and the Pennsylvania Democratic leaders, like Mifflin and McKean, strongly urged it. Nowhere did the sentiment seem so strong as in this State, which was probably due to the direct influence of the French minister in Philadelphia, Genet, who fanned the excitement, threatened to appeal from the government to the people, sent out privateers, and attacked the President in insulting publications. "If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington," said a writer in a Philadelphia gazette; and it was but a type of the assaults made upon him. But Washington's quiet firmness carried the day. Genet was recalled, the excesses into which the French Revolution was plunged alienated its American friends. John Jay's treaty

with England removed some causes of opposition, and the revolution was complete when an American deputation to Paris was insulted by Napoleon, and came home without being permitted to accomplish its errand. Now the nation was hot for a war with France, and almost had it.

The two parties were represented in Washington's cabinet, the Federalists by Hamilton, the Republicans by Jefferson. The one was Secretary of the Treasury, the other of State. Washington tried to keep the peace, but his sympathies were with his Federalist secretary, his aide-de-camp through the Revolution, the ablest of the defenders of the new Constitution, the head of the most important department, the representative of law and a strong government.

That gentleman found that a national bank was necessary to his operations, and a bill was introduced into Congress to establish one in Philadelphia. The oldest and strongest bank in the United States was already in this city, which was now the financial centre of the country. This new bank was to have a capital of ten million dollars, one-fifth of which should be subscribed by the government, and as soon as the public had a chance the remainder was over-subscribed the first day. Boston and New York sharply complained they had no opportunity to acquire the stock, which the Philadelphians appropriated to themselves.

The opposition was bitter. Bank bills were never seen in many sections. Paper money was discredited by the previous State issues. In the frontier sections, live stock, land, and whiskey constituted the money, and every man of wealth everywhere had his strong box in which he kept his excess of coin. The bank, it was said, would be an aristocratic institution, of use only to the cities and to the wealthy in them, fostering monopolies, and giving fictitious credits to speculators. But Hamilton prevailed by Northern votes against Southern, and the bank received its charter, which would last till 1811.

Another scheme of Hamilton's was the assumption of the State debts. There was something to be said against this. *The impecunious* States which had unwisely managed their

finances would have themselves relieved, and the burden would be distributed over their wiser or more fortunate neighbors. On the other hand, it was argued that these debts had mostly been incurred in the common cause during the war, and the credit of the country demanded that they should be promptly and systematically paid. Here again the North supported and the South opposed. By a political trade the measure was passed with a tacit understanding that the permanent seat of government should be south of Mason and Dixon's line, and largely on this account Washington, rather than Philadelphia, became the capital. Pennsylvania had received better financial management than some States, and her debt was only two million dollars.

In Philadelphia Washington was inaugurated for his second term, in 1793, having received the unanimous electoral vote. Here four years later he issued his profoundly influential farewell address, and here John Adams took up the duties of the office as his successor. The little buildings on Chestnut Street were the scene of many an interesting occasion, full of import for the future of the republic, in that last decade of the eighteenth century, but the main significance of these events is rather for the nation than the State.

Pennsylvania in national affairs at first went with the Federalists. She cast all her votes for Washington, and eight out of ten for Adams in the first election, and in the second all for Washington, and fourteen out of fifteen for Adams. Philadelphia, like the other Northern cities, was strongly Federal, so were the adjacent counties except when the fear of war threw part of the Quaker vote to the other side. The western part was in sympathy with the party of Jefferson.

The constitution which the State adopted in 1790 was fundamentally in ideas and words a copy of the federal articles just ratified. The governor, elected for three years, could serve only nine years out of twelve. The lower house, elected annually, could not have more than one hundred or less than sixty members, and the senators, with a term of four

years, were in number between one-fourth and one-third the lower house, and it was so arranged that the terms of one-fourth of them would expire each year. The judges and county officers being appointed by the governor, he thus became the repository of great power.

The canvas for governorship began immediately. Two revolutionary generals were placed in the field. In a paper signed by Robert Morris, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, James Wilson, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and other great names, Arthur St. Clair was commended to the people as the candidate of the Federalists. He had an honorable record through the war, and was one of Washington's trusted generals. He was a man of character and probity, and, though for a time President of the Continental Congress, was but little known in the State. From this date his career was unfortunate. In an expedition which he led in 1793 against the Ohio Indians, he was utterly routed. This ended his public life, but living to a great age in extreme poverty, in a hut in the Alleghanies, he entertained foot travellers to procure a meagre sustenance. In a time of extremity he had advanced eighteen hundred dollars to pay a revolutionary bill. In 1818 the Federal government recognized the justice of his claim, and paid him two thousand dollars, and sixty dollars per month. Pennsylvania also granted him a pension, so that his last days were comfortable.

A popular meeting of Republicans in Philadelphia nominated Thomas Mifflin, and he was elected by about twenty-eight thousand votes to three thousand. Parties were changing, and Mifflin came in as a Democrat. He was re-elected in 1793 and again in 1796 by large majorities over F. A. Muhlenberg, thus serving his full constitutional term. Mifflin was a fine speaker and an attractive man. He had made an illustrious record since he left his Quaker home for the army in 1775. He was a man whom people delighted to honor, and was greatly popular. From 1788 to 1799 he was the chief executive of Pennsylvania, and while he never rose to be a statesman of the highest rank he was an influential man. His later years were clouded by ill health and

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

debt, and he died soon after the expiration of his term as governor.

In the distressed days of the Confederation, business was dull, the good money went abroad, and financial disaster did not seem far from any one. With the adoption of the constitution came immediate prosperity. Thus the exports of flour from Philadelphia were, in 1786, one hundred and fifty thousand barrels; in 1787, two hundred and two thousand barrels; in 1788, two hundred and twenty thousand barrels, and in 1789, three hundred and sixty-nine thousand barrels. As usual, agricultural prosperity stimulated all others, and manufactories and money-making schemes of all kinds, many of them speculative, grew in number and consequence. Lotteries flourished apace. There was one to improve the City Hall of Philadelphia, another to aid Dickinson College, another, of large proportions, to develop the city of Washington. The idea extended to private affairs. To make the most out of a decedent's effects, people would be asked to put in small equal sums, and the tickets thus purchased would draw articles of more or less value.

In 1791 the country was full of prosperity. The State debts were cleared away, and, to a certain extent, State taxation. Hamilton's measures were showing that the national debt was manageable. The old revolutionary promises were being paid off, and many people who had considered them as valueless found themselves in possession of ready money, or interest-bearing notes, and this money largely went into lotteries for all manner of improvements in State, church, and school. Some wise men pointed to the inevitably disappointed hopes, the withdrawal of people from useful industries, and that the burdens would fall on the poor. In time they were heard, and the States began to circumscribe the traffic, but now it bloomed in every hamlet.

There were also legitimate enterprises. One of these was the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike. A number of gentlemen organized the company, and in 1792 the books were opened to the public. As over two thousand subscribers appeared, where only six hundred were permitted, the suc-

cessful ones were chosen by lot. The land was condemned, and the road-bed prepared, but the Americans did not know how to make stone roads. They hauled in great rocks and undertook to fill the interstices. But this settled unevenly, and the road became almost impassable. An Englishman, who had known of Macadam's road, advised the general breaking of the rocks, and the Lancaster Pike became under his management the finest road in America, and the pride of the State.

Taverns lined it a few miles apart. Soon the great, white, covered Conestoga wagons began to travel to and fro, bringing in the farm produce of the west, and returning, though largely empty, with supplies for the farmers. It was a busy highway in the days before the railway.

The Schuylkill Canal also dates back to this plethoric epoch. It was over-subscribed six times when the books were opened. Other canals were projected in every direction.

These were the days also of the early serious attempts to apply steam to boats. John Fitch, a precursor of Fulton, a native of Connecticut, who had made Pennsylvania his home, began experimenting with the problem, and in 1786 he exhibited on the Delaware the first boat ever propelled by steam. He went on improving his machinery, and the assembly granted him exclusive rights to navigate the waters of the State. In 1790 the boat ran from Philadelphia to Burlington against the wind in three and one-fourth hours, and made regular trips through the summer, making sometimes seven miles an hour, but discouraged by a variety of failures, he sealed up his papers and gave them to the Philadelphia Library, with instructions not to open them for thirty years, went to Kentucky, and killed himself. His boat went to wreck on Petty's Island, and rotted away.

To the same date belongs the first attempt to mine anthracite coal. It is said that a hunter falling down a steep bank, above what is now Mauch Chunk, found a great black stone, which was sent to Philadelphia, and pronounced excellent coal. A company was formed, which bought up Summit

Hill and its neighborhood, and went to work. It was not at first successful, for other fuel was plentiful.

Nor was all the energy directed into these material channels. Periodicals started into existence in numbers hitherto unknown. Daily, weekly, and monthly papers and magazines, mostly short-lived, were used for political and other purposes, and sprung up in every town of consequence. In 1790 the Methodists and Universalists originated Sunday-school organizations in Pennsylvania, and a year later Dr. Benjamin Rush formed a society in which ten dollars gave life membership to develop a system of non-sectarian Sunday-schools, in which hundreds of children were taught to read and write. The association still exists under the title of the First Day or Sunday-school Association. An attempt was also made at this time to establish week-day schools throughout the State supported by taxes, but it was premature. The old College of Philadelphia and the new university were joined in 1791, and became the University of Pennsylvania. Franklin College in Lancaster, chartered in 1787, was beginning to be used by the Germans, as Dickinson was by the Presbyterians. The academies which grew into Washington and Jefferson Colleges, in the southwestern part of the State, date to the same period. Academies endowed with State grants were started at Philadelphia, Germantown, Pittsburg, Reading, and elsewhere. A little later the Friends established their boarding-school at Westtown, in Chester County.

Population was increasing, families were large, and the migratory habits of the people were developing. The elements of the population were mixing. Quakers settled among the Presbyterians of the west, and the German districts became penetrable by others. Thus the State was growing in homogeneity and friendly feelings. In 1790 the census of Pennsylvania showed four hundred and thirty-four thousand three hundred and seventy-three people; in 1800, six hundred and two thousand three hundred and sixty-five, second only to Virginia.

But in Philadelphia a dark event was to cloud this pros-

perity. In 1793 a number of refugees from Hayti, driven out by the massacres there, sought food and shelter in the city. This was just at the height of the French sentiment, and they had appealed to a philanthropic city. When it was known they were on ships in the Delaware in a destitute condition, thousands of dollars were immediately raised. Some of the sufferers were sent to France, and some found homes and farms in the State.

Whether the germs of the yellow fever came on these ships will never be known. But about the middle of summer there broke out along the wharves what was called the putrid fever. It rapidly spread, and the whole city was soon in its grasp, though the severity of its attack was greatest in the dirtiest localities. It would begin with a fever. Then would follow a black vomit and bleeding from the nose. The skin and the whites of the eyes would change to a dark yellow, and about the eighth day, unless a favorable turn occurred, the sufferer would die. The streets were full of funerals. Men were afraid to greet their best friends, and the dead would often go for some time without burial, so excessive was the demand for the carts.

The city authorities went vigorously to work cleaning the streets, and in so doing made no mistake. But the practice of the doctors was contradictory, and in many cases ridiculous. Dr. Rush urged bleeding and purging, and, with sublime indifference to personal danger, visited his patients by the hundreds. Others made light of this treatment, and fed the sick on Peruvian bark. So bitter did some become that Dr. Rush recovered five thousand dollars damages at law from one unusually violent critic. Whether the good doctor killed or cured more may be doubtful, though his constant advice to avoid intoxicating drinks and his cheery disposition doubtless helped many a poor sufferer, and kept some well people from taking the disease.

Finally, a special hospital was improvised, and Stephen Girard and Peter Helm volunteered as nurses, taking their lives in their hands. Fifty per cent. of their patients died. The disease increased in intensity till cold weather stopped

it. It is said that five thousand people died, and that seventeen thousand left the city. The national government removed its offices; papers stopped publication; business, except dealing in drugs, almost ceased to exist.

Among the curious remedies which the people eagerly caught at, and which we may see in the advertisements of the papers before suspension, was the "vinegar of the four thieves." It was reported that at Marseilles, during the prevalence of the fever there, four men had found a drug which made them immune, and they plundered the sick as they pleased. The recipe was said to have been sent to Philadelphia, and every druggist had his own idea about it.

The doctors suggested the burning of gunpowder, and a regular fusillade was kept up for some days, when quiet was advised. Nothing proved effectual but cleanliness and frost.

Doctors, nurses, and ministers who heroically discharged their duties died at their posts. Governor Mifflin and Alexander Hamilton took the disease, but recovered.

The city was visited by the plague again in 1797 and the following two years, introduced in each case, it was believed, by ships from the West Indies. Every one who could possibly remove did so, except the brave men and women who stayed to minister to the sick.

One of the results of these visitations was the creation of a better sanitary system, efficient hospitals, and quarantine, and these, with the growth of medical skill, soon destroyed the fever. It was a dearly-bought lesson, but the State and city were wise enough to learn it.

Notwithstanding this scourge the city and suburbs grew from forty-five thousand in 1790 to seventy thousand ten years later.

While Philadelphia was suffering from the plague the other end of the State was disturbed by difficulties of another sort. The farmers west of the Alleghanies made almost all their corn and rye into whiskey. With the meagre facilities for transportation they could not compete with their eastern rivals, who were getting rich from the demand for grain, occasioned by European troubles. But distilled into

whiskey, the question of transport was largely reduced, and the grain became marketable. Thus whiskey became the staple, and the circulating medium of this western country. When Congress, in 1791, put a tax on their great product, to supplement the revenue derived from imports, in order to pay the interest on the national debt, it struck a blow which was felt more severely by them than by others elsewhere. These poor men were not of the sort to acquiesce quietly. Their Scotch-Irish blood was aroused. Revolution was not a sin in their eyes, and they determined not to pay the tax. This resolution was strengthened by acts of the Pennsylvania Legislature declaring the excise oppressive.

Political causes also intervened. They were Democrats, and the east was Federalist. They were heated over the French Revolution, while the east, conservative and opposed to disturbances of all sorts, was fearful of a return of anarchy. Again, General St. Clair had just suffered an ignominious defeat by the Indians of Ohio under Joseph Brant, the same chief who had commanded at the Wyoming massacre, and the Pennsylvanians were fearful of renewed Indian attacks. All of these things kept up the excitement and tended to the organization and alertness of the farmers and distillers.

The disturbance began almost immediately after the national excise law was passed. It was difficult to find any one willing to execute it in the whiskey region. When a collector was finally appointed, he was stripped, tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated. Warrants were sworn out against the offenders, but the marshal of the district was afraid to serve them. A man of disordered mind, who announced himself a collector, was blindfolded, tarred and feathered, and tied to a tree in the woods. After these outrages, matters seemed to rest in abeyance till 1794, when Congress set itself seriously to work to collect the tax.

One of the causes of complaint of the whiskey men was that the State courts had no jurisdiction, but that they were required to answer to the Federal court at Philadelphia.

Congress took some measures to remedy this difficulty, but when in July a number of distillers were served with writs for disobedience to the law, instantly the alarm went abroad that the men were being carried off to Philadelphia. An attack was made on the house of the revenue inspector, and the mob was driven away, one man having been killed and six wounded.

Their leaders shrewdly advised that the only safety now was to implicate so many that it would be impossible to punish all. So they robbed the United States mails, and called out the militia. The men obeyed without questioning the authority for the call, and met on Braddock's Field on the 1st of August, by the thousands, ready for any violent act.

Meantime all was alarm in Pittsburg. The rioters threatened to march in and act as divine agents in destroying Sodom, as they graciously called the little town of twelve hundred people. The town people held a meeting, and agents of the two parties came together to find what was to be done. Four objectionable men must be driven out of town, and the rest of the people must march out to Braddock's Field, were the inexorable terms of the "Whiskey Boys." The four went, and the people marched out in apparent despair. The next day the insurgents concluded to go to Pittsburg. They were carefully conducted in so as to avoid the garrison, and encamped on the edge. Every householder carried them provisions and whiskey, and by this unwilling hospitality the invaders were propitiated, and Pittsburg was saved.

Not so, however, the government. There was an open insurrection. Governor Mifflin was either weak or a demagogue. He hesitated, till President Washington declared that if the State would not quell it the Federal government would. Troops from Virginia, from Maryland, from New Jersey, and from Pennsylvania, fifteen thousand strong, marched to the west. The fears that the Democrats would sympathize with the insurgents soon disappeared in the face of open rebellion, and Mifflin himself led the Pennsylvanians.

Commissioners had preceded the army, and there was not much trouble in securing from the leaders all that the government wanted. By the time the troops reached the western counties the insurrection had disappeared. There was nothing to fight. A show of force, however, was useful to convince the people that there was no sympathy for them, and that they must obey the laws. The whiskey rebellion was at an end.

Albert Gallatin was brought into prominence by these disturbances. He was born in Geneva, in 1761, and came to Boston in 1780, having received an excellent training in school and home. His mind was philosophic, and he was a Democrat of the most radical type. He never got over his French accent and foreign manners, and the Federal party, which he always opposed, held him up to the people as un-American and unsympathetic. He came, however, to America, as he says, "to drink in a love for independence in the freest country in the universe," and no one can point to his career as other than guided by patriotic impulses. In 1782 he was appointed to teach French in Harvard College; but the Puritan atmosphere of Boston was unpleasant, and a year later he came to Philadelphia. After some drifting, he bought, in 1786, a large tract of land in southwestern Pennsylvania, in Fayette County, and went there to reside. He sympathized with the opposition to the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and his first public appearance was as member, from Fayette County, of a convention called to bring influence upon Congress to have it modified in the direction of greater protection to personal and State rights, as proposed by Massachusetts and Virginia. He was also a delegate to the convention which created the State constitution of 1790, though he was opposed to the movement. He, however, entered heartily into the debates, and his great ability was amply demonstrated. He was a member of the first Legislature of the State, and himself says, "I acquired an extraordinary influence, the more remarkable that I was in a party minority. I was indebted for it to my great industry and to the facility with which I could understand and

ALBERT GALLATIN

carry on the current business." This explains his future success. Wherever he went he became greatly influential. He enjoyed Philadelphia society. "An equal distribution of property has rendered every individual independent, and there is among us true and real equality."

Fayette was one of the counties most affected by the whiskey tax, and Gallatin was with his constituents. He was secretary of a meeting in Pittsburg, which resolved to have nothing to do with collectors, but to treat them with contempt, and withhold from them all the comforts of life. This was a dangerous and impolitic step for Gallatin, and drew upon him the indignation of Washington and Hamilton.

However, such was his popularity, that in 1793, at the age of thirty-two, though in a minority party of the Legislature, he was elected by a vote of forty-five to thirty-seven to the Senate of the United States, as the colleague of Robert Morris. He was, however, excluded from that body by a party vote, on the ground that he had not been nine years a citizen of the United States. He had been in the country thirteen years, coming as a minor, but it had been only eight years since he took his oath of citizenship. The few months during which he occupied his seat greatly extended his reputation, and his friends at home looked upon him and themselves as martyrs to the cause of democracy. He went back to his farm in Fayette County.

When the rebellion of 1794 broke out, Gallatin was absent from the proceedings at Braddock's Field. When the commissioners came, Gallatin counselled submission, and it was by his eloquence and consummate adroitness that, in a public meeting to discuss measures of further resistance, they were induced to vote to accept the terms, and the western counties were saved from open rebellion. He atoned for his part in the Pittsburg resolutions, where, as he said, he had been guilty of "a political sin," by his courage and skill. Gallatin was elected to the United States House of Representatives, which on a technicality excluded him, but he was triumphantly re-elected immediately after, serving from 1795 to 1801. He became Secretary of the

Treasury under Jefferson, and, except Hamilton, no abler man held the place. Almost all positions in the national government were afterwards offered him, the most of which he declined.

Robert Morris served one term as Senator from Pennsylvania in the national house. When he retired in 1795 he went into large land speculations, which, through the treachery of associates, ended disastrously. In 1798, this great financier, who had bolstered up the nation's credit, and had given without stint to the cause, who was the host and trusted adviser of Washington, and one of the wisest of statesmen, went into a debtor's prison, where he remained three years and six months. A few years later he died. His useful life deserved a better ending.

In the Presidential election of 1797 party lines were strongly drawn. John Adams was the recognized candidate of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson of the Republicans. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Aaron Burr, of New York, were intended to be the vice-presidents of their respective parties. This was difficult to manage: under the Constitution, as it then was, the recipient of the highest number of votes became president, and of the second highest the vice-president. Adams had seventy-one votes, Jefferson sixty-eight, Pinckney fifty-nine, and Burr thirty, with forty-eight scattering. All States north of Pennsylvania voted for Adams, and all south, except Delaware, for Jefferson. Pennsylvania was now Anti-Federal, and cast one vote for Adams, fourteen for Jefferson, two for Pinckney, and thirteen for Burr. The Constitution was soon changed to prevent a president and vice-president belonging to opposing parties.

Another rebellion against taxes, this time among the Germans of the eastern counties, made some excitement in 1799. A year before, Congress had decreed a direct tax on slaves, houses, and lands. The first article of property did not trouble the State, for there were now but seventeen hundred of them. The value of the houses was ascertained by the curious process of counting the number and measuring the

size of the windows. The cry was raised that the unpopular window tax was to be revived, and in the country around Bethlehem opposition was greatest.

The resistants found a leader in an itinerant vendue auctioneer, John Fries. He knew and was known universally. Keen in repartee, fertile in explanations, he denounced the tax from tavern steps and vendue stands all over the country. A mob was organized, marched upon Bethlehem, and released the prisoners detained by the marshal for nonconformity to the law. The militia was called out, and the officers explained to the people the fairness and legality of the tax, and that resistance was rebellion. They melted away as promptly as the Whiskey Boys. Fries was arrested, but was pardoned by the President.

An incident of the summer of 1798 brought a Pennsylvanian into national prominence. The republics of America and France had changed from enthusiastic allies to such open enemies that war seemed probable. Washington was drawn from his retirement and made commander-in-chief of the army. It was a federal war, and, for the time being, was rather popular. The Republicans were opposers. A well-intentioned Quaker, Dr. George Logan, the grandson of William Penn's secretary, and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, James Logan, was distressed at the prospect of war, and undertook a voluntary mission to France to restore harmony. Without passport, without credentials, he was received and fêted in Paris by Talleyrand. What he did is hardly known. Washington received him coldly on his return, and Congress afterwards enacted a law prohibiting such self-appointed embassies. He himself thought he averted a war, and in this position the Republicans supported him. He was sent first to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and, beginning with 1801, represented the State one term in the United States Senate.

Whatever Logan's services, the war excitement soon passed over, and Washington again retired to Mt. Vernon, this time to die. The inveterate habit of bleeding every sick man probably killed him. The voice of criticism,

especially violent in Philadelphia, in such papers as *The Aurora*, was hushed, and most people could unite in honoring the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Despite his exterior coldness, Washington felt deeply the unjust and bitter attacks of his enemies, and the Morris mansion on Market Street was the scene of many an outbreak of indignation and temper. He had abundant reasons for advising in his Farewell Address to beware of the violence of party feeling.

In 1800, according to previous arrangement, the Federal government removed its business southward to the new capital. In December, 1799, the State government also emigrated. As early as 1787 the assembly had adopted a resolution that Philadelphia was "an unfortunate location" for the capital of Pennsylvania. In 1795 the House, by a vote of thirty-six to thirty-four, decided to go to Carlisle, but the Senate did not concur. Three years later the same voting was repeated, this time the place being Wrightstown, York County. In 1799 both houses concurred in a bill to go to Lancaster, and Governor Mifflin signed it.

The reasons for this change were various. When travel was toilsome and expensive, there was an element of fairness in distributing it as evenly as possible. The plague had given abundant cause for suspicion as to the general healthfulness of Philadelphia. But perhaps, more than all, the old causes which divided the east from the west and centre of the State, growing out of racial and sectarian distinctions, the causes which divided the sections in revolutionary times, when the United States Constitution was to be ratified, and when national parties were formed, had the profoundest influence. The counties, except those close to Philadelphia, voted unanimously for another capital. There was an evident distrust of the city and its influences, and in the final vote in the lower house, only twenty-four representatives stood up for the metropolis against forty-four for Lancaster.

The fear of the mob, as evidenced in the forcible means used to procure a quorum when the Federal Constitution

came up for consideration in the Legislature, was often given as a reason why free speech could not be secured in the great city. In the opinion of a contemporary writer of credit, this was the chief motive for the change.

This double departure of government was a serious loss to Philadelphia. She had been the most important city of the States, the seat not only of government, but of the best intellectual life, and the best financial and benevolent institutions. Some of this she retained, and her growth in numbers did not cease, but there was hereafter something missing from her life, which she possessed both under the Quaker domination of pre-revolutionary times and the political preeminence which, for a quarter of a century, followed 1775. While containing many excellent people, her corporate history for a long time was comparatively commonplace. Her reputation for "slowness" and conservatism now began to grow, and the country ceased to look to her for good government, for intellectual leadership, or for commercial supremacy.

CHAPTER XV.

1799–1810.

Governor McKean—Federal Mistakes—Duane—Election of 1800—Demand for a Pure Democracy—Simon Snyder—State Politics—Gideon Olmstead's Claim—Internal Improvements—Steam Navigation—Stephen Girard—Pittsburg—Effect of the Embargo—Literary Standing of Philadelphia—General Crudeness.

THOMAS MIFFLIN was succeeded as Governor of Pennsylvania by Thomas McKean, who also served three triennial terms. He was now sixty-five years old. He was born in Chester County, of humble parentage, and was educated at the New London Academy. He studied law, and at twenty-eight was elected to the Delaware Assembly, where he served eleven years. He was a member of the Continental Congress from Delaware through most of its existence, and was its president in 1781. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a colonel in the army. In 1777 he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which position he retained till 1799, holding it in addition to his other appointments from both Delaware and Pennsylvania. He was the author of the constitution of Delaware, and a member of the convention of 1790, which produced the constitution of Pennsylvania. His versatile abilities and public usefulness may be judged by this long list of offices, and he was now to round out his public career by nine years in the governor's chair. He was a firm, inflexible, honest, plain-speaking, and at times violent man, and, though a strong Democrat, was far removed from a demagogue, not using doubtful arts to increase his popularity. Yet he had much popular strength, and his opponents recognized it. It is said that a German opposing a bill to legalize life insurance, said, "If we pass this bill, old McKean will get his life insured, and so we shall

THOMAS McKEAN.

never get rid of him." The Federal party had still some vitality, polling thirty-two thousand votes for James Ross. But McKean, as the candidate of the Democrats, had six thousand majority. In 1802 he again defeated Ross, this time by thirty thousand majority, and three years later he ran as an Independent Democrat against the regular Democratic candidate, Simon Snyder, winning by about five thousand votes. He died in 1817.

The Federalists were swollen with their success, when in 1797 the country swung around to their position of antagonism to France. They unwisely forced through two radical measures which were immensely unpopular. One, the alien law, gave the President the power to order out of the country and imprison any unnaturalized resident. The other, the sedition law, provided that any who should unlawfully combine against the government, or say anything scandalous about it, might be imprisoned and fined. These great powers invested in a government were felt to be dangerous to civil rights and free speech.

Nowhere was dissatisfaction more general or its expression fiercer than in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the enactments were due as much to the stream of exasperating abuse of the government which poured forth from *The Aurora*, a Philadelphia paper, than to any other cause. It was well known that the editor, William Duane, would suffer under the law if any opportunity offered, and he was narrowly watched. He had come to Philadelphia in 1795, and almost immediately exerted a large influence, which was not only local, but national. He was a Democratic partisan of the extremest type, and had a large share in the violent politics which characterized the first decade of the century.

He had a large following from all ranks, which was now swollen by numbers of Irishmen who had fled to this country after their unsuccessful rebellion of 1798. The alien and sedition laws were supposed to bear heavily on them, and as enemies of England they became greatly popular with the Democrats. The uniform association of Irish immigrants with this party dates from this time. Duane and the immi-

grants, innocently perhaps, were the cause of a street riot on a Sunday, when a petition was being passed around for the repeal of the obnoxious laws. For this they were tried and acquitted. Trials seem to have been too common to notice. Duane says he had sixty libel cases on hand at one time, and they did not appear to mollify his statements.

McKean's election in 1799, followed by Jefferson's to the presidency a year later, placed Pennsylvania, without dispute, in the ranks of the democracy. The State had not been divided into districts, and as the time approached, it became evident that if Pennsylvania should have any electoral vote, it must be cast by the Legislature. The house was Democratic and the senate Federal, and a compromise was effected by which each house was to select eight candidates, and from these a joint meeting should select fifteen electors. Thus it came to pass that eight votes were given to Jefferson and Burr and seven to Adams and Pinckney.

Nothing could exceed the excitement of this closely contested election, and if one despairs of his country on account of the dishonorable politics of the present day, it may reassure him to read the accounts of the extravagant and indefensible means which were used, not only in Pennsylvania, but elsewhere, and to remember that the country survived.

The election resulted in sixty-six votes for Jefferson and Burr, sixty-five for Adams, and sixty-four for Pinckney. By the awkward requirements of the Constitution, as it then was, the decision between Jefferson and Burr had to go to the House of Representatives, and here Pennsylvania cast her vote for Jefferson, who was elected. Now, said *The Aurora*, the revolution of 1776 is complete. At any rate, federalism was practically dead in Pennsylvania. Amid great rejoicing and abundance of French cockades, and bitter taunts at the followers of Adams, Philadelphia celebrated the victory of democracy. The Quaker City, but ten years before the bulwark of order, now went wild in denouncing the aristocracy of the Federalists, and in celebrating the triumph of the populace. Grave men quietly shook their heads and prophesied a reign of terror.

The revolutionary sentiment once started was not easily curbed. A demand arose in Pennsylvania for a purer democracy. Jefferson was too conservative, said the radicals. The constitutions of the United States and of Pennsylvania were made by aristocrats, lawyers, and men of learning and property. We have passed this stage, and now demand the supremacy of the common people. They should enter directly into every executive, legislative, and judicial act. Every law should be framed and executed by them. All men are equal, and one class is not better fitted for government than another. With this cry came another for economy and low taxes. If in Pennsylvania workmen receive from six to ten dollars a month, why should officials have more? Their only necessary qualifications are plain common sense and honesty.

While Jefferson was the candidate of this class of people, he was too slow for them. The story of his hitching his own horse to the palings of the fence when he went to deliver his inaugural address is a fiction, but in many ways he encouraged the democratic spirit. The Federalists had been too exclusive, and, with the example of France before them, had mistrusted the people. They had endeavored to hedge themselves about with statutory provisions, and retain power in the hands of the "well born," as John Adams expressed it, and well educated, keeping the people at a distance. Jefferson changed this, unfortunately in part, by the removal of Federal office-holders, to make room for good Democrats, and in part by urging economy and simplicity in all public affairs. He did not, however, satisfy the extremists, and these extremists were especially strong in Pennsylvania, where their boldness and numbers occasioned great concern to the sober people of the State. The moderate Democrats were almost ready to unite with the Federalists to save the commonwealth.

Governor McKean, though an ardent follower of Jefferson, was a man very likely to suffer from this state of things. He did not hesitate to express his contempt for the kind of legislators sent up by some counties, whom he publicly

called "clodhoppers." He was a man of ability and character, and he refused to bow down to the new doctrine of equality. At his re-election in 1802, the movement was not fully developed, and he had no opponent except the candidate of the Federalists, who only polled about one-fourth of the votes. Three years later his party set him aside, and nominated Simon Snyder, taking as their watchword a revision of the constitution of 1790, in the direction of democracy.

Simon Snyder, who served nine years as Governor of Pennsylvania, and proved himself a safe and intelligent executive, commended himself by his history to the support of the triumphant Democrats of 1805. He was born in Lancaster County, the son of a "Palatine" emigrant of 1758, and had almost no opportunity for education. He moved to Northumberland, a small place, where he was store-keeper and farmer. He was sent to the house, and in time became speaker, and proved himself to be prompt, suave, and just. He became popular, and as he could talk both German and English was finally chosen by his fellow-legislators to represent the cause of Democratic revision of all the landmarks of the government.

His nomination was a shock to many people of both parties. Hitherto, except for a brief period during the war, the high officials of the State had been men of education or special abilities, or of property and conservative instincts. The State had not learned to trust new men from the people, who asked votes for responsible places, who had had no training and no family history. Moreover, they were alarmed at the revolutionary views advanced, and were particularly solicitous for the constitution. Hence a new party was formed for a short time with a single object. It called itself "The Tertium Quids," which was soon shortened to "Quids." McKean was asked to be the candidate. The leader of the movement was Alexander J. Dallas, Governor Mifflin's Secretary of State, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury and of War under President Madison; with him were joined Senator George Logan, the Muhlenbergs, and

the Federalists generally. Their cause was supported by *The Aurora*, and McKean triumphed by five thousand majority.

In 1808 the same issue came up, but the Democrats were somewhat toned down. Again they nominated Snyder. McKean had served his full constitutional term, and was not eligible. The Quids had disappeared and the Federalists selected James Ross, of Pittsburg, a lawyer and college graduate, an ex-United States Senator, a man of proven ability and character. They felt sure of his election. Could it be, they asked, that such a man could be beaten by an ignorant store-keeper in a little village, whose only strength consisted in his ability to talk German? One enthusiast offered an "eleven-penny bit" for each vote of Snyder's majority against one hundred dollars cash from the other side. He had to pay three thousand five hundred and fifty dollars. Snyder proved immensely popular, and notwithstanding a defection of the old family Democrats, like the Muhlenbergs, who took four thousand to John Spayd, he was elected by sixty-eight thousand votes to forty thousand for Ross. He also served three triennial terms, being re-elected with but little opposition. The fears of his opponents were not realized: while not a student of government, he used the great powers of his office with discretion, and his appointees, who were many and held important stations, were well chosen. He was fortunate in holding office during and following the War of 1812, when the opposition was completely demoralized.

An incident which stretched over all the years from 1778 to 1809 settled an important principle, and at one time seemed almost to make Pennsylvania a rebellious State.

During the revolutionary war a number of prisoners were captured by a British ship and were ordered to be taken to Jamaica. On their way, under the leadership of Gideon Olmstead, they took command of the vessel, confined the crew in the cabin, and sailed for the United States. A Pennsylvania brig overhauled them, brought them into Philadelphia, and claimed the ship and cargo as a prize. This

claim was contested by Olmstead, who considered he had the capture already completed, and the case was tried in a Pennsylvania court before Judge Ross. The strange decision was that Olmstead should have one-fourth and the second captors three-fourths of the proceeds. Olmstead appealed, and the money, fifty thousand pounds continental, was held by David Rittenhouse, the treasurer of the state.

The appeal had to be made to a committee of the Continental Congress, which reversed the decision of the State court, and directed the whole sum to be given to Olmstead. The State denied the right of Congress to overset its conclusions, and would not pay the money. Nothing could be done. Time passed away, and in 1788 the Federal Constitution was adopted. Olmstead now saw some hope, and sued the executors of Judge Ross, who in turn sued Rittenhouse, but the Supreme Court of the State, under Chief Justice McKean, refused to sustain the suits. In 1795, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the old judicial decisions of the Continental Congress were valid, and when Olmstead heard of this decision in 1803 he appealed to a United States Court and obtained a decree for the money. But Rittenhouse was dead, and his heirs, two elderly widows, had settled his estate. McKean was now governor, and was in a condition to fortify his old decision. He had the Legislature pass a bill ordering the ladies to pay the money to the State Treasurer. It was an act of defiance against the power of the United States.

Here matters rested till, in 1808, Olmstead took his case to the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Marshall gave an unequivocal decision, directing the money to be paid. The State militia surrounded the house of the Rittenhouse daughters, and prevented the United States Marshal from serving a warrant. He undertook to collect troops, and it seemed that the great question of the supreme authority of the Federal Government was to be fought out in the streets of Philadelphia.

The Legislature finally gave eighteen thousand dollars to Governor Snyder to do with as he pleased. He preferred

ROBERT FULTON.

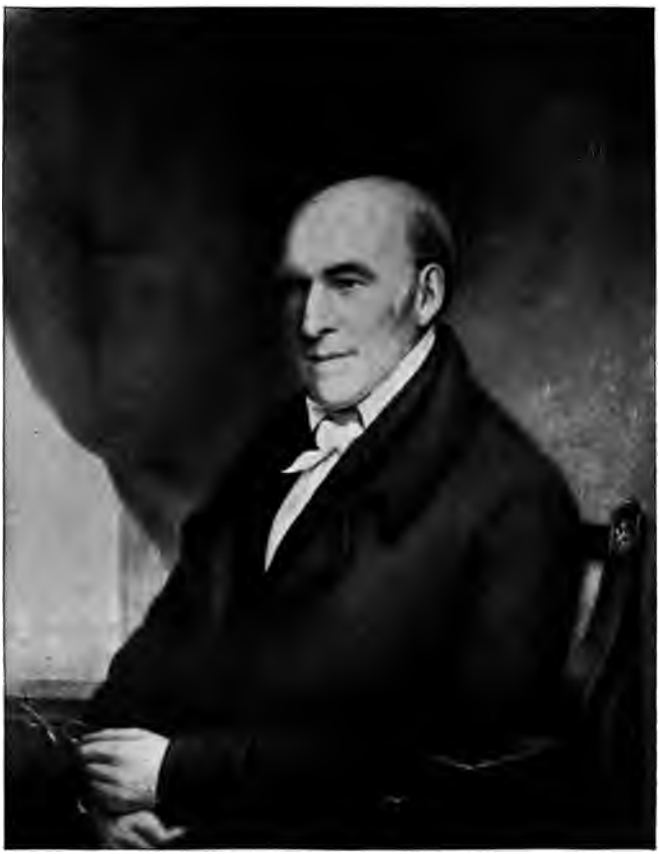
orders before his second visit, in the northern part of the present Philadelphia, was fitted with machinery for cotton, wool, and hemp. President Washington was surprised, in 1797, to find that one boy could spin in one day two hundred and ninety-two thousand feet of flax thread, or weave "fifteen or twenty yards of sail cloth." The power was, of course, water. Soon after this, it, as well as other mills, made also cotton cloths and prints. Woollen mills sprang up, and large numbers of merino sheep were imported from Spain. The War of 1812 stopped importations and greatly stimulated manufactures.

Iron plants were being rapidly developed. The Phœnix Works, at Phœnixville, date from 1790, and a few years later Coatesville became an important centre of the industry.

The only banks in Pennsylvania in 1802 were the United States Bank, the Bank of Pennsylvania, and the Bank of North America. These had branches for deposit and discount in Lancaster, Reading, and Pittsburg. During Governor Snyder's administration there came a great craze for banks. Forty were chartered at one time. The governor vetoed the acts, but the Legislature passed them over the veto. The State was filled with bank notes, without adequate security. In the great demand for business, farmers were encouraged to borrow, with promise of easy terms, in order to make improvements to buildings and fences. When the notes, already heavily discounted, became due, they were unable to pay, and purchasers reaped bargains at forced sales. This, in turn, tended to make banks unpopular and unprofitable.

The shipping business, which had its head-quarters in Philadelphia, brought in the largest returns in the early years of the century. Trade was carried on in American vessels, with the West Indies and South America, with Calcutta, Canton, and the East, and with the ports of Europe. In 1804 eighteen hundred vessels left the port, and in time returned with rich cargoes. The wharves were busy places, and shipping merchants were rapidly made rich.

Chief among them was Stephen Girard. He was born in



STEPHEN GIRARD.

France, in 1750, and bred to the sea. With a very limited education he sailed as a cabin boy to the West Indies, and was soon promoted, from post to post, till he became mate, then captain. In 1769 he came to Philadelphia, and was shipmaster and merchant till the revolutionary war. Then he became grocer and bottler and sold to the Continental army. In 1782 he leased a block of stores, and subletting them at advanced prices, laid the foundation of a fortune. When the servile insurrection in Hayti broke out, he had two vessels in the harbor of Cape Francois. The frightened whites placed their valuables on them for safe keeping, and returning to shore were murdered. Girard advertised the goods, but no claimants appearing he made fifty thousand dollars by their sale.

His was a strange and contradictory character. The loss of one eye and coarse and odd-fitting garments made him a conspicuous figure. Exacting the last penny due him, numbering the fruit on his trees, and requiring his gardener to account for it all, never doing a generous deed to business associate or friend, he yet subscribed heavily to charities. Not professing belief in Christianity, and naming his vessels after noted infidels, he gave liberally to church buildings of all denominations on the ground that they were improving the city. Violent and unbearable to wife and brother, he yet bore in his own arms, with the livid face upon his shoulder, the dying victims of yellow fever, as he sought them among the deserted houses, and conveyed them to his carriage, and thence to the hospital. He was a masterful, courageous, ever-successful, but a friendless man. His motives seemed to be to make money and have his way, and everything was crushed in his path. His vast financial services to his nation, and his unmatched charities to his city, are yet to be narrated.

While Philadelphia was enjoying her prosperity, Pittsburg, at the other end of the State, was a busy hive of industry. Through this city passed the most of the western and southwestern trade and the current of migration. Thither the merchandise and the stream of settlers found

their way, and there they sought the means to prosecute their westward journey. Boats for freight, for a colony, or for a family could be bought and they never returned, for they floated down with the current of the Ohio, and there was no known method of forcing them against it. So the demand was constant. The salt from western New York passed through on its way eastward, and the clothing, medicine, and everything needed by farmers and frontiersmen, which the soil and forests would not produce, on its way westward from Philadelphia.

But this prosperity was to receive a severe check by the suicidal embargo and non-importation measures of the Democratic Congress. The opposition to English encroachment was rising higher and higher. That nation claimed the right to seize every vessel bound to an enemy's country, unless she had first paid duties at an English port. If she did, Napoleon seized her. England also claimed the right to search all American vessels to see if there were British sailors on board, and if so, they were impressed into her navy. The condition was becoming serious, but Jefferson did not want war, and did all he could to avert it. Moreover, the country was totally unprepared. He therefore, in 1807, suggested to Congress a prohibition of all commerce with foreign ports, accompanied by bonds from the owners of all vessels engaged in the coasting trade, that they would not trade outside the United States. Congress promptly passed such an act.

The amount of damage this did abroad was small compared with the injury sustained at home. When the act was passed, every vessel at Philadelphia made the greatest haste to get away. They went half loaded or entirely empty. The crews, if not complete, were made up of landsmen. Then the port was closed and the boats lay unemployed. Commerce was killed. Dependent manufacturers next suffered, and finally the farmers, without foreign market, found their produce on their hands diminishing in value, while sugar, tea, and coffee were costing them more than ever. British trade, freed from a formidable competitor, flourished apace.

A great cry went up against the pernicious act. This began at the seaports which suffered the most, and where the Federalists were strongest, and echoed through the country. Gallatin wrote that Pennsylvania, the stronghold of democracy, was a doubtful State. At the Presidential election, in 1808, had the matter been decided by popular vote, the Democrats would probably have been defeated, but in most of the States the electors were chosen by the legislatures. These were Democratic, and James Madison was elected.

Though the party had triumphed, yet the unpopularity of the embargo acts remained, and this was not much diminished by their restriction to English and French trade, which soon followed. They proved as unfortunate for the Democrats as the alien and sedition laws had for the Federalists, and nothing but the excitement due to the coming war prevented the ruin of the party which fathered them. The acts expired by limitation or otherwise. English aggression continued, and the country slowly drifted into war.

Pennsylvania cast her twenty electoral votes for Jefferson and Clinton in 1804, and for Madison and Clinton in 1808. Her statesman, Gallatin, was Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, and performed his duties with distinguished ability. He opposed the war, and when he resigned it was for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace. From 1816 to 1823 he was resident minister at Paris, and shortly after retired from public life.

It was in this first decade of the nineteenth century that a little group of writers was accustomed to call Philadelphia "the Athens of America." And though it must be confessed she was a feeble imitation of the Greek capital, yet the amount of literary work done was not at all discreditable, and was certainly greater than in any other American city.

The first American novelist, Charles Brockden Brown, was the chief figure in the group. He was born in Philadelphia, in 1771, of Quaker parents, and educated at their public school, under the historian Robert Proud. His novels were mainly published from 1790 to 1800, and in one of

them he graphically describes the yellow fever epidemics in the city.

The most of the work of the Philadelphia authors was, however, printed in magazine form. In 1740 Bradford and Franklin each announced a magazine. The first was short lived. Franklin's, "The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America," had a longer history. Numerous attempts were made from this time, before and during the revolutionary war, to sustain monthly magazines, but they did not usually last more than a year or two. The best of these was the *American Magazine*, started in 1757, which numbered among its contributors, Provost Smith, who was also editor, Francis Hopkinson, and James Sterling. It also published James Logan's letters. The magazine became in a sense the mouth-piece of the American Philosophical Society. Then followed the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, of which Tom Paine was editor, the *United States Magazine*, in whose pages we find the work of one whom Washington called a rascal, but who was one of the gifted writers of the last century, Philip Freneau, the *Columbian Magazine*, and the *American Museum*. As the year 1800 approached, the number became too great for separate mention. They were, however, often successors to each other, building on the ruins of the last attempt, and passing on their assets to the next rash adventurer.

The most interesting figure in magazine literature was Joseph Dennie, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard, who, in 1799, came to Philadelphia as secretary to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State. He soon abandoned politics, and in 1801 started the *Port Folio*, which he edited till his death in 1812, and which long survived him. He surrounded himself with a little company, which included, practically, all the literary talent of the country. "In the society of Mr. Dennie and his friends, at Philadelphia, I passed the few agreeable moments which my tour through the States afforded me," wrote Tom Moore in 1804. The company contained, among others, Charles Brockden Brown, John Blair Linn, Alexander Graydon, Josiah

Quincy, Joseph Hopkinson, and Horace Binney. Benjamin West was brought to the recollection of his American friends by a series of original letters written from London, and by accounts of his noted paintings. Leigh Hunt, though born in England, was the child of Philadelphia parents, his father and Benjamin West having married sisters. He was considered a member of the *Port Folio* company, and his work was frequently commended.

These devoted followers of Pope and Addison found literature a barren field for profitable effort, and are all but forgotten now. Their work is interesting as affording the first serious essay to plant a literary enterprise upon American soil.

Other rather ambitious attempts show the literary spirit of the city. "Rees's Cyclopædia," in many volumes, was printed, and "Wilson's Ornithology" was issued, on American-made paper. Alexander Wilson was a Scotchman, who found a congenial home in Philadelphia, and was a frequent contributor to the *Port Folio* and other magazines of the day.

This literary supremacy of Philadelphia lasted till about 1820, when New England began to surpass her. It was partially restored by *Graham's Magazine*, of later date. Her scientific standing was more durable, and her physicians and medical schools have never ceased to stand at the front.

The State was also producing her great jurists. After McKean himself no one stood higher than John B. Gibson. He became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State in 1816, and Chief Justice in 1827, which position he retained almost to his death in 1853. Both McKean and Gibson had more than a State or even national reputation; their opinions were quoted in England.

But while in a small society there was intellectual life, and not a few educated men were scattered over the country, there was a vast mass of ignorance and rudeness. The Legislature had never taken advantage of the provision of the constitution to establish free schools for the poor, and it is questionable whether the education of this class was any

better provided for than it was twenty-five years before. As a result, there was the crudeness in customs of the people which attends a vigorous, energetic, but uneducated community. If law was not efficient, justice was taken in hand by the sufferer, and he dispensed it in a rude form. John Binns, who was Governor Snyder's chief adviser, and the editor of *The Democratic Press* of Philadelphia, describes a process of "gouging," which an editor in the back districts who displeased a reader might have to submit to. The aggrieved party would pinion the hands of the offender by one arm and by the thumb of the other hand quickly but cruelly gouge out his eye. Binns says he fought the last duel ever fought in Pennsylvania, which was in Northumberland, in 1805. The influence of Christianity, the feeling of responsibility for government, which always exists in a free country, the respect paid to men of ability and training, and the education derived from business, kept the country to a large degree wholesome and progressive, under conditions which might otherwise have wrought its ruin. The great body of the people always meant to have honesty in politics, even though they did not always secure it. Contrary, perhaps, to general opinion, there has been no retrogression since the days of Washington and Jefferson.

CHAPTER XVI.

1810–1817.

War of 1812—Pennsylvania's Part—Prejudice against Common Law—Harrisburg made Capital—The United States Bank—Stephen Girard—Alexander J. Dallas—Effect of the War on Industry—Inflation and Depression—State Finances—Banks—Emigration and Immigration—Growth of Charitable Institutions.

THE country went into the War of 1812 without any military or financial preparation. Both Jefferson and Madison were opposed to it, and had not the latter yielded in 1812 he could hardly have been renominated for the Presidency. The younger men of the party, led by Henry Clay, demanded an open war rather than a continuance of embargoes, and the multitude re-echoed the demand.

Pennsylvania gave her electoral vote to Madison in 1808, and again in 1812. In 1811 she voted almost unanimously for Snyder for a second term, and elected him a third time, by a large majority, three years later. Except in Philadelphia and vicinity the State was loyal to the national administration and the war.

Early in 1812 the Pennsylvania Legislature promised to stand by the general government in decisive measures. Both her senators and all her representatives but two voted for the war, and these two were not returned. No enemy set foot on her soil, yet she furnished more men and money than any other State. Her expenses for the war, which were afterwards paid by the United States Government, were two hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars, besides twice as much more, which she assumed herself, and she offered to subscribe one million dollars to an issue of United States bonds.

Twice during the war there seemed a prospect of invasion. To resist a threatened attack from Canada a body of troops

was concentrated at Erie to guard the lake frontier. This fear was largely dissipated by the successful naval battle of Oliver H. Perry. Making a fleet out of unseasoned lumber, gathering scraps of iron from every available source, calling in men and supplies from the country around, and finally lifting his ships over the bar, he was ready to fight. It was not an unequal contest, but American seamanship and marksmanship triumphed, as they always did in this war, and Perry sent off his famous despatch, beginning, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The citizens of Philadelphia were frequently fearful of the operations of the enemy's boats, which kept up a blockade of the coast during most of the war. All through 1813 British ships hovered about the mouth of the Delaware. The militia of the eastern counties were called out on several occasions. The most serious was in September, 1814, after the capture of Washington. The British had defeated the American army, burned the Capitol, and with a little force of five thousand men terrorized the whole country. It was uncertain which way they would move, but Philadelphia resolved to be prepared. Defences were thrown up west of the Schuylkill, the forts on the Delaware were repaired, a military association was created and men enlisted, and a camp was formed at Kennett Square, near the Maryland line. But the English, after remaining five weeks on Maryland soil, quietly re-embarked, leaving the million or more of terror-stricken inhabitants to their own reflections. The Legislature was divided in opinion, whether the necessary force should be supplied by conscription or voluntary enlistment, and while they were debating the question peace was declared. James Buchanan, of Lancaster, afterwards President of the United States, was serving his first term in the Legislature, and participated in the debate, speaking earnestly against conscription. He was then a Federalist and opposed to the war.

Pennsylvania supplied to the service, outside her own boundaries, several distinguished men.

In every war there has been "a fighting Quaker," and the

JAMES BUCHANAN.

fighting Quaker of the War of 1812 was Jacob Brown. He was born in Bucks County, in 1775, and in 1812 found himself commander of the frontier for two hundred miles east of Oswego. To the dreary history of defeat and incompetency which characterized the land operations of the early part of the war, Brown was a striking exception. He repelled two attacks of superior forces of British, and was rapidly advanced, first to Brigadier- and then to Major-General. Placed in command of an invading army in 1814, he defeated the British in several battles, and "no enterprise that he undertook ever failed." For these victories he was thanked by Congress, and was awarded a gold medal. He finally became General-in-Chief of the United States Army.

The war was, however, essentially a naval war; and Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, and the various duels between ships on the Atlantic, in which the Americans were almost always the victors, aroused the greatest enthusiasm. Stephen Decatur spent much of his youth in Philadelphia, where his father lived. His war record was conspicuous, though his most essential service was the defeat and humiliation of the Barbary powers, for which he received the thanks of all Europe. James Biddle was a native of Philadelphia, as his ancestors had been. His career in the navy during and after the war, till his death in 1848, displayed high capacity and character. Congress voted him a gold medal, and his native city presented him a service of plate in 1815. Charles Stewart was also born in Philadelphia. For his victories and brilliant services he finally reached the rank of rear-admiral. At the close of the War of 1812, honors of all kinds were heaped upon him by Congress and his State. His soubriquet was "Old Ironsides." He lived to see the civil war. His daughter was the mother of the Irish home-rule leader, Charles Stewart Parnell. In the work of these three brilliant naval officers, Pennsylvania reaped her share of the honors of the ocean warfare.

In the main, the land operations were a series of bungling

and abortive attempts, but the skill of American seamen and the effectiveness of American ships and gunnery were abundantly shown, and the nation in general would endorse Webster's summary, "However we may differ as to what has been done or attempted on land, our differences cease at the water's edge."

The zeal of the Democrats for a revision of the State constitution perceptibly cooled after the election of Snyder. The main objection, the large powers vested in the governor, did not seem so objectionable when their own popular leader held that position. They set themselves, however, to work to limit the power of judges. A strong prejudice against courts and lawyers and the common law existed, and judicial interference with liberty seemed the object of especial jealousy. In 1809 it was enacted that contempt of court could only be punished if committed within the court-room during a session, thus removing all newspaper publications from this form of official displeasure. It was also decreed that if either party preferred arbitration to a legal trial it must be granted. As a further limitation, and also as indicating the growing opposition to England, a law was passed in 1811 prohibiting any decision made in that country since July 4, 1776, being cited as an authority in any court of justice. This remained on the statute-book for twenty years. The mace was ordered cast out of the door of the assembly room, as an objectionable English institution.

The Aurora, which had for its political partner United States Senator Michael Leib, finding it could not control Snyder, but that Binns and *The Democratic Press* were to be his allies, attacked him as lacking in character and capacity. Hence arose a division among the Democrats chiefly around Philadelphia, but the body of the State stood by the governor, who appears never to have lost his popularity.

Lancaster did not prove a satisfactory capital for the State. The Legislature met in rented halls, and it was felt that the dignity and respect due them were affected by their position as tenants. Early in 1809 a resolution was introduced into the State Senate that a permanent seat of

government should be selected, leaving the place blank. Philadelphia could only muster eight votes out of twenty-four. Northumberland, at the forks of the Susquehanna, had seven. The little town growing up opposite John Harris's Ferry received fourteen. The other house ratified the choice, and in 1810 Harrisburg became the State capital. Prior to the erection of buildings, Lancaster, in 1818, made a liberal offer to bring the government back. She would appropriate twenty-five thousand dollars to erect a capitol. The committee report was favorable, but the house dissented.

In 1814 the enthusiasm of the Pennsylvanians for the war was evidently cooling. The State sent five Federalists to the national house, three of whom came from Philadelphia. The Federalist candidate for governor against Snyder, Isaac Wayne (the son of General Wayne), received about thirty-three thousand votes, a striking increase as compared with the three thousand six hundred the party polled three years before. In fact both parties were tired of it, and the Republicans saw that peace must soon be made or that they must lose power. Their strength lay in Pennsylvania and the States south. The Keystone State could control the political situation by giving her strength to New England, and symptoms of disaffection were eagerly watched by both sections.

This changed feeling was still further shown when, after the defeat of Napoleon in Leipsic, a great public meeting was held in Philadelphia to celebrate the event. Though that imperious personage had not been a friend to America, he was an enemy of Britain, and his triumph would humble the enemies of America. Yet the rejoicing in the city over what was supposed to be his final defeat was general and sincere. Western and central Pennsylvania were, however, true to their history, and the hereditary hatred of England was nowhere in the country more intense.

The charter of the United States Bank, located in Philadelphia and founded by Hamilton, expired by limitation in 1811. The attempt to renew this charter was the subject

of a violent political warfare. The Federalists and the conservative Democrats, like Gallatin, pointed out its past invaluable services, and its necessity in case of a war to handle the loans and steady the currency. They also declared there would be a breach of faith and loss of credit involved in its demolition. The objections to it were partly the jealousy of wealth and monopoly and profitable ventures, always characteristic of the American people. It was furthermore claimed that its influence was used to further partisan politics; that men had their accounts closed who did sign certain political memorials; that in South Carolina discounts were curtailed as a penalty for voting the wrong way; that the major portion of the stock was owned in England, and that the profits drained the country of good money.

One of the men who did not believe that the Congress would dare to refuse to continue the charter was Stephen Girard. That "mariner and merchant" had now collected a great fortune, and finding that the English investors were frightened and anxious to sell, he purchased stock to the extent of a half a million dollars.

But he was mistaken. The Senate, by the casting vote of Vice-President Clinton, refused to renew the charter, and Girard's speculation did not succeed. Profoundly convinced of the necessity of a great bank to the financial interests of the country, and ambitious to avert the evils and reap the profits which he felt were sure to follow, he bought the bank, a great marble building still standing on Third Street below Chestnut, and started the Girard Bank, with a capital of one million two hundred thousand dollars. The business of the old bank came to him with the five million dollars of specie in its vaults, and the same cashier and officers continued, so that he succeeded to the confidence and credit of the national institution.

So prudently was the business conducted that when the suspension of specie payments, which soon overwhelmed the country, came, Girard's notes almost alone never depreciated, and were paid in gold. His prompt command

of great resources was on several occasions strikingly shown. In 1813 his ship "Montesquieu" was captured at the mouth of the Delaware by a British frigate. Her captors were aware of the risks of being retaken, and offered, for ninety-three thousand dollars in gold, to give up the ship. This was an easy problem for Girard, though in those days it would have troubled almost any one else. The amount was promptly paid. The goods had risen in value, and the banker profited by their sale to the extent of half a million dollars.

A more daring transaction resulted in eminent service to his country the following year. The credit of the government was practically gone, its available resources almost drained, and the New England States were talking secession. Gallatin had estimated that the receipts for 1813 would be twelve million dollars, the expenses thirty-two million dollars. The treasury was empty, and a loan must be obtained. But the popular subscription was a manifest failure, and a few men of wealth, notably Stephen Girard, after all other resources were gone, subscribed for the whole amount. He made hard terms,—eighty-eight dollars paid in for one hundred dollars of bonds, at six per cent., but he also took great chances. Whether this was patriotism, willing to risk its all for the credit of the country, or simply the shrewd operation of a far-seeing man of business has been differently estimated. Both objects were gained. The effect on public credit was instantaneous. Men who before were timorous and critical, now rushed forward, demanding a share. It was granted them on the original terms. The bold purchaser reaped his reward in the great appreciation of the bonds. It is hard to conceive the depth of the difficulty from which this simple act rescued his country, and Stephen Girard must be added to the list, which already contained Morris, Hamilton, and Gallatin, of the country's financial benefactors.

The act was repeated in a different form in 1816. His friend, Alexander J. Dallas, was now Secretary of the Treasury, and he conceived it to be necessary to re-establish

the National Bank, a step which had Girard's cordial approval. He waited till the last day of receiving subscriptions, and then placed his name down for the balance, three million one hundred thousand dollars. Then, as before, there arose a great demand, and Girard disposed of half his holding at cost.

The country did its best to adapt itself to the war. The coasting trade being destroyed, great lines of wagons plodded up and down the coast roads from Boston to Savannah. This made business for the toll-houses, the ferries, and the inns, and farmers found a market for horses, and wheelwrights for vehicles. The trade was encouraged by the high prices and vast profits of transference. There was plenty of wheat, but flour brought seventeen dollars a barrel in Boston. Other things were proportionally high, and as there seemed no limit to the increase, speculators bought to sell again later. This was ruinous to consumers, and associations were formed in Philadelphia and elsewhere to limit prices. Of course, this was unavailing; prices could not be permanently forced. The blockade was being drawn closer. Many of the American privateers, after destroying hundreds of British merchant ships and fighting scores of armed vessels, had been themselves destroyed. Nothing could be gotten into the country or out of it, and the great expenses raised taxes. The government was almost bankrupt. It hardly had even a home. Since the burning of the Capitol, Philadelphia and Lancaster both wanted the seat of government, and the proposition to move to the former city was defeated by a majority of only nine.

Manufactures flourished vigorously. They had no foreign competition, and prices were high. The development of not a few industries dates from this war.

Great Britain had suffered no less severely, and both parties were willing to make peace without saying a word about the main cause of the war,—the impressment of sailors and the right of search. The battle of New Orleans, gained after the treaty was signed but before the news reached the country, gave a parting gleam of success to the Americans.

A vast fleet of merchantmen was ready in the Delaware River, to leave at the first day of safety. All maritime trades received a great impulse, and when the European ships began to come in, the revival showed itself everywhere. Since the days of the first embargo in 1807, there had been no free entrance for foreign goods. For three years there had been absolute prohibition, and the appetite of the people was whetted. They were willing to use American goods from patriotic motives, but they sighed for the silks and fine muslins, the tea and the coffee, from which all but the very wealthy had been deprived.

The importers made fortunes immediately, and as one of the unfortunate results of the war, the fever of speculation raged disastrously. When the natural demand was satisfied, credit was extended and bills contracted and the foundation laid for a financial crisis a few months later. Manufacturers were prostrated by the cessation of demand for home-made goods, and in self-preservation demanded the adoption of the policy which has played so important a place in American politics and American development, a tariff for protection.

A Pennsylvania lawyer, Alexander J. Dallas, was placed, in 1814, at the head of the Treasury Department. Nothing could well be in a worse condition than the national finances at that date. Credit was exhausted, and expenses far exceeded income. People would not stand an increase of direct taxes. The currency was in utter confusion. The banks had issued paper far in excess of their ability to redeem, and the United States Treasury was in no condition to pay out specie.

Two measures seemed indispensable to Dallas, a national bank and a protective tax on imports. To the latter of these provisions Pennsylvania was faithful then as ever, and her member, Samuel D. Ingham, led the party which declared that the purpose of the duty was not only money, but industrial independence of England. The tax was levied mainly on cotton and woollen goods and on sugar. The South was again her ally, but New England, fearful of

her shipping interests, opposed. The factories of Philadelphia and Pittsburg were a unit in demanding the tariff, and for once the East and the West joined hands. Gradually strengthening measures to adjust the tariff taxes to actual wants and to intercept evasive measures followed in succession, and the country, with Pennsylvania in the lead, was committed to the protective policy. Its originator was the Democratic Secretary, Dallas, and its chief supporter the Democratic leader, Henry Clay.

The bank, which was also Dallas's work, was afterwards to be an object of intense dislike to the Democratic party. The dismal confusion of the currency system could have no other remedy, and so a bill for a bank devoted to strengthening the credit of the country and leading the way to a resumption of specie payments passed the Congress. The bank was located in Philadelphia, and the present Custom House building on Chestnut Street was erected for it.

The early years of the century saw a short-lived fever for State banks. Pennsylvania, over the veto of her governor, had chartered about forty, which added to the paper but not to the resources of the State. These could do nothing towards resumption till the old institutions led the way, and it was not till 1817 that these felt that the step could safely be taken. When at last the day came, there was but little demand for specie, and no run on the banks.

About the same time, Dallas resigned to resume his profession of law. In his brief control of the Treasury he had seen the currency of the country steadied, the military establishment reduced to ten thousand men, and other expenses curtailed, while the income was increased, credit built up, and taxation adjusted so as to be easily borne. The country was always rich. The war had confused it, but its resources in private hands were not seriously impaired. It was the merit of the financier to organize and draw out these resources and make them available to natural uses. Dallas had estimated the customs receipts at twenty-one million dollars. They amounted to thirty-six million dollars, and he could see a surplus in the Treasury

at the end of the year of twenty million dollars. His State stood by the party record. In the last days of the Madison administration, in December, 1816, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a resolution approving the official conduct of the President by a vote of fifty to thirty-one.

The revolutionary soldiers of Pennsylvania had been given lands and pensions. In 1817 only three hundred and thirty-seven were left in the State, and their pensions were increased to make a comfortable allowance for old age. The State could afford to be generous, for her treasurer had given a favorable budget for this year. He would have two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars to start the year with. The income would be three hundred and six thousand dollars, the expenses two hundred and seventeen thousand dollars, leaving an estimated redundancy of three hundred and seventy-four thousand dollars. This, however, included dividends on banks, in which the State was a heavy stockholder, an item which in the precarious times to follow might be reduced. The sale of lands was expected to yield eighty thousand dollars, auction duties seventy thousand dollars, and tavern licenses thirty thousand dollars.

While the condition of the United States Treasury and the State Treasury were thus satisfactory, the hard times spread from the speculators to the people. As the old banks in self-defence would attempt to curtail their loans and collect their mortgages, new ones more accommodating would be chartered, and the loans would be renewed. Pennsylvania had fifty-nine banks in 1818. Many farms were mortgaged, and many a farmer, hopeless of escape from his creditors, moved westward to the fertile fields of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It was impossible to find specie to redeem the notes. Even the Philadelphia banks, the best in the country, had out notes tenfold in excess of the metal in their vaults.

The loss of population was compensated by the English and Irish immigrants, who came as soon as peace was declared. The former were well-to-do, and pushed westward, the latter desperately poor, and remained in the

eastern cities, where they rapidly improved their condition. The substitution of the old inhabitants by the foreigners was not in general favorably regarded, and violent prejudices began to manifest themselves.

German redemptioners were still being brought in. Kept in their filthy boats on the Delaware they were advertised at from sixty to eighty dollars each. Eagerly they looked for a purchaser of their services. Many were skilled tradesmen, and readily found places, and when their passage money was worked out, became prosperous citizens. Others, less fortunate, were doomed to months of slavery. Those who had been in the country, frequently bought up the new arrivals. An instance is related of a man who wanted servants, and secured three on a boat. When they reached his house they proved to be his father, mother, and sister.

The bank failures were especially severe in Pennsylvania and the States south. New England was opposed to the war, and loaned but little to the general government. The blockade along her coast was easy, and she sold to the rest of the Union all the foreign merchandise imported, receiving their specie in exchange. When the war closed, there was a tremendous importation, and the good money went abroad. It was nearly ten years before the disorder originating in the War of 1812 was allayed. In 1819 and adjacent years the times were the hardest. Merchandise was sold at forced sales below the cost of production; almost all manufacturing interests closed, and laborers were thrown out of employment; commodities ceased to circulate, and there was a ruinous sacrifice of farms.

With the hard times came pauperism. Philadelphia was crowded with men without work. With pauperism came organized charity, associations for serving fuel, soup houses, and humane societies in large numbers. With these came also a careful study of the conditions which produced pauperism, and men stood finally face to face with the liquor problem and its vast capacities for evil. Temperance societies arose. There were more licensed houses for the sale of liquor in Philadelphia in 1817 than eighty

years later, and the amount of money squandered in these was carefully calculated. A memorial was sent by City Councils to the Legislature, asking a reduction in the number.

Men began also to doubt whether lotteries were the beneficent agencies they had seemed to be, and a healthy sentiment against them was rapidly growing.

The reform movement extended to the prisons. Debtors in small amounts were still taken to them, and their lot was sad indeed. But now State after State abolished imprisonment for debt, Pennsylvania not being in advance. She, however, established the first State prison, a model for many others, and led the way to more humane treatment of criminals generally, including "separate and solitary confinement at labor," and reformatory influences. An English traveller, in 1817, speaks of having seen "a whole town" of mechanical workers in the prison, which nearly supported itself. The institution, he says, was superior to anything in England. He also examined the Pennsylvania Hospital, which he called "a national honor."

CHAPTER XVII.

1817–1829.

Campaign of 1817—Findlay and Hiester—Duane and Binns—Growth of Nominating Convention—Philadelphia and Pittsburg—Coal Industry—Canals—The Tariff and Pennsylvania—The Death of Federalism—Public Improvements and the Growth of the Debt.

THE contest for the governorship in 1817 was exceptionally bitter. The large powers of appointment amounting to forty or fifty important places, as well as the licensing of auctioneers, a valuable monopoly, made the election of great moment to the friends of the candidate as well as himself. Betting was open and quite general, and the money staked on the result added a personal interest to the general political interest involved. The regular Democratic party under Governor Snyder, who himself was ineligible to another term, presented the name of William Findlay, State Treasurer for ten years. He was supported by all radical Democrats and received the full Irish vote, a matter now to be taken into account. Binns and his paper were valuable allies.

The other parties to the contest were (1) The Federalists, (2) the moderate Democrats, who called themselves Independent Republicans, Democrats of the Revolution, and Old Schoolmen, who acknowledged the leadership of *The Aurora* and Michael Leib, and (3) a few independents who were called Quids. These three parties drew together and nominated Joseph Hiester, of Berks County, a man of German descent, who was popularly called "Sauer-Kraut."

All citizens over twenty-one years of age, who had paid taxes, had now the right to vote. The preliminary contest for inspectors of election was almost as violent as the greater one that followed. Great frauds were afterwards charged against the successful party, and there can be no

doubt that the election was not largely a high contest for principle, but rather a strife for official and financial booty. The same is true of many of the succeeding elections.

The Democratic address to the people is worth quoting, as showing the political spirit of the times and the character of the motives appealed to:

"Citizens! Democrats! Americans! This is the day of general election. If you value your own rights, your own happiness, your political characters, your liberties or your Republican institutions, every man to the poll and vote the Democratic ticket. It is headed with the name of the patriot, William Findlay. Citizens! the times are momentous. The seceders from the Democratic ranks have joined with our old and inveterate political enemies to put down Democracy. It is an unholy league between apostates and political traitors on the one part, and on the other the Anti-Federalists, the Monarchists, the Aristocrats, the Hartford Conventionalists,* the Blue-light men,† the Embargo-breakers, the Henryites,‡ the men who in time of peace cried out for war! war! but who, in time of war, called themselves the peace party—Huzza for William Findlay and no bribery."

On the other hand, the Federalists issued a descriptive circular concerning Findlay, in which they described him as "A selfish politician who never served his country, and

* The Hartford convention was a meeting of New England Federalists to consider the dissolution of the Union, and was greatly unpopular.

† During the war, Captain Decatur was endeavoring to get out to sea from the port of New London, Connecticut, and was closely watched by British vessels. He declared that every time he arranged to go out, two blue lights would be displayed, which gave warning to the enemy. All friends of England came to be known as "Blue-light men."

‡ John Henry was an agent of the British Government prior to the war, for the purpose of sounding popular opinion in New England. He proposed that Massachusetts, which was opposed to the war, should make separate terms with England.

All these names were equivalent to traitors and sympathizers with the enemy.

always on the lookout for office, an apostate Federalist and time-server, a constant office-hunter, a Treasury broker and public defaulter who exchanged and used public money for his own benefit, and is yet to account for misdemeanors in office, a barbarian who holds that 'the study of law disqualifies a man from being a judge.'" The address ends with specific rules to detect and counteract election frauds.

The contest was close. In Philadelphia and adjacent counties the vote was two to one in Hiester's favor. The German counties also supported him. But the poll showed sixty-six thousand votes for Findlay to fifty-nine thousand for Hiester.

The charges intimated in the Federal circular affecting Findlay's integrity as Treasurer were investigated by the Legislature, who pronounced his official conduct "meritorious and beneficial to the State." He was probably honest and kind-hearted, and had been betrayed into errors by embarrassed circumstances. In 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served one term. In 1827 to 1840 he was Treasurer of the United States Mint at Philadelphia.

It having been determined to retain the seat of government at Harrisburg, the Capitol was begun under his administration.

Three years later the same parties with the same candidates entered the field. By this time Findlay had offended Binns, and was consequently vigorously opposed. It was charged against him that he was weak and impecunious, and had not hesitated to use the interest on public money; that he had promoted the creation of banks, which were in these hard times immensely unpopular; that no beneficent results had followed his administration. On the other hand, it was said that Hiester was too old (he was now sixty-eight); that he was a slave-holder; that he was a man characterless and uninfluential. Hiester was elected by the narrow majority of sixteen hundred in a poll of about one hundred and thirty-four thousand.

Though Pennsylvania was thus uncertain in State politics,

she was loyal to the Democratic party in national contests, and gave her electoral vote to James Monroe in 1817, and again in 1821. The election of Hiester was thus no impeachment of her Democracy, but rather the result of the partisan and personal differences of the rival editors, Duane and Binns. Both of these were of Irish blood. Both had been in trouble with the English authorities before coming to Philadelphia, and neither hesitated to use the resources of an extensive and vituperative vocabulary without stint against an adversary.

In the struggles of these Democratic editors a system was organized which still has an important influence upon the political history of the country.

The candidate for President of the United States had been usually nominated by a meeting of party congressmen. In the same way governors were nominated by the legislative caucus. In 1807 the Democrats of Delaware County, a Federal district, called attention to the fact that they had had no voice in the selection of candidates for governor, and proposed that the Democrats of each county should select delegates to meet in convention for the special purpose of nominating candidates. It is quite possible that this was a Duane movement in the interests of the opposition to Snyder, and if so, it failed. But it represented the birth of a new idea. It was at first adopted so far as to allow party representatives from minority counties to be incorporated into the caucus for nominating purposes. In 1817, Findlay was nominated by a convention made up of delegates chosen for the special purpose; but as many of the members were also legislators, the Duane faction held a convention, denounced the other as a caucus in disguise, and nominated Hiester. In 1820 both candidates were presented by representative conventions in the modern way.

In the language of the day, this was the Pennsylvania plan. It rapidly spread to other States, and was finally taken up by the national parties. The caucus of legislators came to be looked upon as a bad and dangerous system, and the popularly elected convention as a reform of great moment.

Philadelphia by 1817 had grown to be a city of over one hundred thousand people. The English traveller previously quoted, says: "My first impressions of the city were decidedly favorable. It gave me an idea of a substantial cast, in possession of a character essentially different from New York. It has not so much business, not so much gayety, not so much life. But there is in Philadelphia a freedom from mere display, a relief from gaudy trappings, an evidence of solidity of which its more commercial rival is nearly destitute. The streets are clean, and well and regularly built. . . . The people live in houses that would adorn any city in the world. Rents are twenty-five per cent. lower than in New York. . . . Philadelphia has done much to raise America in my estimation."

This reputation for quietness and solidity might have been a result of the impress of its Quaker settlement. These people, however, were now an inconsiderable minority of no political weight. Personally many were active in business and philanthropy, but their influence as a body had not been seriously felt, except in the matter of slavery, since the Revolution. The churches of the city at that time were: one Swedish Lutheran, three Quaker, one Free Quaker, four Episcopalian, four Baptist, five Presbyterian, four Roman Catholic, six German Lutheran, one Moravian, one Covenanter, three Methodist, one Universalist, one Unitarian, one Independent, one Jew, two Black Methodist, one Black Episcopalian.

New York had outstripped Philadelphia in the race for numbers, and slightly also in commerce. In each about the same number of immigrants annually landed. In scientific and literary reputation the southern city led, and also in all charitable enterprises.

At the other end of the State, Pittsburg was enjoying great prosperity. In 1817, when she received her first charter, she had a population of ten thousand. There were then representatives of forty-one trades, employing twelve hundred and eighty workmen, and turning out an annual product of nearly two million dollars. There had not been a bank-

ruptcy for three years, and prosperity seemed assured for the future. Though she suffered during the hard times that followed, she had already entered on her career of great industrial development.

The State as a whole was growing in wealth in spite of wars and bank failures. The valuation of houses and lands for the direct tax rose from one hundred and two million dollars in 1799, to three hundred and forty-six million dollars in 1815, while the revenue derived rose from one million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars to seven million one hundred and forty thousand dollars. Her exports the latter year were over four million dollars. In rapidity of growth of population she exceeded any other State except New York.

In the contest for western trade she put forth vigorous exertions. She appropriated in 1817 five hundred thousand dollars for roads, bridges, and creeks. She had over a thousand miles of turnpikes, and bridges of the longest span in the world. Great schemes were laid out to connect the head-waters of the Schuylkill with the Susquehanna, of the Susquehanna with the Lakes, and of the Juniata with the Alleghany. They would then tap Central New York and everything west of Pittsburg by boat communication. But New York anticipated the movement and built the Erie Canal.

The great development of the anthracite coal industry dates from these years. In 1812 Josiah White and Erskine Hazard were in partnership at the Falls of the Schuylkill, in the business of wire-making. They bought, at one dollar a bushel, a cartload of hard coal, and tried to use it in their furnace, but it was all gone before the necessary heat was secured. Another cartload was obtained, and after a night of effort the workmen shut the doors of the furnace and went home in despair. One of them left his coat, and in a half hour when he returned for it he found the whole mass of coal red hot. Four parcels of iron were heated and rolled, and the question of the utility of anthracite in manufactures was settled forever.

It occurred to the vigorous mind of Josiah White that a great source of wealth was lying in the coal fields back of Mauch Chunk. The Lehigh River was near by, but its rocky bed and rapid fall and low water in the summer seemed to preclude the possibility of using it to transport the mineral to market. He was, however, a man of financial and mechanical ability and resources, and he concluded to attack the mining and transportation problem. The Lehigh Coal Company and the Lehigh Navigation Company, afterwards combined into one, were formed, a lease for twenty years of the Summit Hill coal tract was obtained, a road of uniform grade was made from the mines to Mauch Chunk, and the more serious problem of improving the river was undertaken.

In 1818 the two partners personally surveyed the river for eighty-four miles above Easton. Under the direction of Josiah White, workmen were maintained in the wilderness, narrowing the channel of the river in the rapids, building dams and sluice-ways where it was necessary to accumulate water, paving the bottom in many stretches, and making great reservoirs to use in dry times. They finally secured a means of conveyance for all the coal the people would take.

The supply was abundant. All the miners had to do was to throw off about twelve feet of earth and the coal was exposed. The carts were driven up to it, and the workmen could load them with little labor.

The greatest difficulty was found at the other end of the line. The Philadelphians were slow to use the coal. Grates had to be made, and householders and manufacturers convinced that the supply would be continuous. It was difficult to dispose of three hundred and sixty-five tons in 1820. Special stoves were kept in public places continually burning. Firemen were instructed in the factories, and the sale rapidly increased to the vast profit of the enterprising pioneers and the great advantage of the public.

In 1825 the Schuylkill coal trade was also opened to the city by a system of dams across the river, making slack-

water navigation for a distance of one hundred and ten miles. Three years later the two anthracite regions supplied the city with nearly eighty thousand tons of coal.

The decade beginning 1820 was devoted to canal construction. The connection between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna was completed, and boats passed from the west branch of the latter stream to Philadelphia. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was completed in 1829, and the Delaware and Raritan Canal a little later, thus making inland water communication from New York to Baltimore. The rivers were used in the spring freshets to bring down lumber from the vast forests of the mountains. The lumber and the grain not only found a market in Philadelphia, but supplied the cargoes of some two thousand vessels which yearly sailed from the port. Ship-building was thus stimulated, and a score or more of vessels were annually launched from the Delaware yards. Though Pennsylvania was permeated by a system of canals, and thus was able to reduce the freights from the West, she was painfully conscious that she could not compete with New York, which brought her merchandise over the straight and level Erie Canal. Many a meeting was held by public-spirited Philadelphians to devise plans to draw in the vast trade of the West, and maintain the commercial importance of their city. But the Alleghany Mountains on one side, and the long and uncertain channel of the Delaware River on the other, were against them, and the northern city rapidly pushed to the front. It became evident that the State must attack the problem, and that internal improvements and a tariff for industrial protection must be its great engines for development.

We have seen that protection first took definite form in the national tariff act of 1816. The South soon repented of its advocacy, and New England was divided, but the Middle and Western States never faltered. They had suffered most from the panic which culminated in 1819, and from which for a few years recovery was slow. They were prepared to adopt any panacea. Already it seemed as

if the manufacturers of cotton goods had achieved their independence, and the cheaper forms were lower than ever before. The cry for protection to young industries arose, and the general application of the theory to all trades was demanded. In 1818 a special act was passed to protect iron products, the beginning of a long series. Farmers awoke to the fact that a home market was desirable, and became the most vigorous champions of the new policy.

The movement had not in 1820 acquired sufficient headway to advance rates, and a bill for that purpose was defeated, but in 1824 the Middle and Western States forced through a measure against the opposition of Massachusetts and the South, increasing the number of industries protected and the rates on the old ones. Trade was now buoyant, Pennsylvania was full of work, farmers were receiving good prices, and the inevitable argument followed that further protection would still further advance prosperity. In 1827 was held the Harrisburg convention, an important affair in its time. About one hundred representatives from different States met, and formed a schedule for the various industries. Duties on cotton and woollen goods were to be increased, agriculture was to be aided, and manufactures of hemp, flax, iron, and glass were to receive additional benefits. Hitherto the movement had been kept clear of politics.

Democrats had been prominent in its advocacy, and Pennsylvania was a Democratic State. In 1824 she had thrown her electoral vote to Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, but the House of Representatives elected John Quincy Adams.

Adams was a moderate protectionist. Jackson did not know what he was, but was convinced that he needed Pennsylvania votes if he became President, and when he was a candidate again in 1828, his party in Congress gave protection in exchange for political support. Hence the tariff for that year was the highest reached hitherto and for a long time thereafter.

Congress did even more than the Harrisburg convention had demanded. Pennsylvania alone of the States got about

what she wanted. New England was purposely thwarted at every turn. The South, which did not want protection at all, and intended to oppose the bill at the last, was furious. Resolutions were passed in a number of Southern cities to abstain from anything produced in States supporting the tariff, and a bitter feeling grew up that they were being sacrificed to Northern greed.

With this trade the protection question disappeared for a time from politics, and the efforts of the next decade were devoted to removing the incongruities of the political measure of 1828.

Jackson had his reward in receiving the electoral vote of Pennsylvania for the term beginning in 1829, and his election by an overwhelming majority of the States.

Governor Hiester had been a colonel in the revolutionary war, a member of the State constitutional conventions of 1776 and 1790, for five years a member of the House and for four a member of the Senate of Pennsylvania, and a Congressman from 1797 to 1805, and again from 1815 to 1820. As the candidate of a mixed party, he had pledged himself to disregard factional lines in appointments and to select the most capable men. He advised in his first address to the Legislature that the powers and patronage of the Governor should be reduced and expenses should be curtailed. He recommended that some system of general education should be inaugurated, and he would have closely connected with it religious instruction. His administration was in the main creditable, and at its close he declined further participation in public life.

Findlay was now in the United States Senate, and the Democrats placed in nomination John Andrew Shulze, of Berks County. He was forty-eight years old, had held several offices under Governor Snyder, and had been for three terms a member of the Legislature and for one term of Congress. He had received a good classical and theological education preparatory to the ministry in the Lutheran Church, and his state papers show in their style and arrangement the effects of this training. He had given no

evidence of great capacity for public affairs, but his general character was so good that his enemies could say little against him. For him, his friends claimed that he was in the prime of life, was well educated and courteous, and a firm believer in the rights of the common people, and that he spoke both English and German.

The opposition party selected as its candidate Andrew Gregg, who had been Secretary of the Commonwealth under Hiester. His supporters hardly dared to call themselves Federalists, for that name was now almost an object of contempt. The name of the party of Washington and Adams, of Hamilton and Marshall, and of the best-educated men of New England and the seaboard cities was a hindrance rather than a help to a candidate. The Democrats used every effort to emphasize Gregg's past connection with Federal measures. He had voted for Jay's treaty, opposed Governor Snyder and the extension of the suffrage in 1808, opposed the War of 1812, and had been a banker and an enemy of the poor man. Duane supported him, and tried to show that Democrats might properly do the same. He failed of election by twenty-five thousand votes.

This was practically the end of the Federal party. It had formed a constitution and a stable government. The names of the best and wisest men of the country, of the great body of scholars and merchants and men of affairs, were associated with it. But during these early decades of the nineteenth century those whom Abraham Lincoln called the "plain people" were establishing their place in government. Theoretically, they were not capable to manage State affairs, but an instinct for liberty led them, through many follies and errors, towards the goal of American hopes,—"a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." Under Jefferson and Jackson they trampled down the pride of property and learning, and established the dignity and consequence and inherent rights of the individual man.

No Federal party existed in Pennsylvania after this election. Other parties grew from its ruins. The new

issues were, however, slow in forming, and when Shulze was elected for a second term less than two thousand five hundred votes were cast against him, and only half of these were willing to admit their Federalism by voting for John Sergeant.

The decade following 1820 began with great cries for economy. Salaries from the governor's down were greatly reduced. The policy of spending money for internal improvements was questioned. It was one of the heaviest accusations against Gregg that he had advised borrowing one million dollars under Hiester. But as times improved there came a wave of extravagance. Up to 1823 only two million five hundred thousand dollars had been appropriated for canals, roads, and bridges. Under Shulze, though he had been elected on a retrenchment platform, six million dollars were borrowed by the State, and the governor to consent. The Erie Canal was robbing Pennsylvania of her transportation, and New York was distancing Philadelphia. This, perhaps, could hardly be remedied, but the things that remained might be strengthened, and the vast resources of coal and iron might be developed and brought to market. State encouragement of internal improvements and federal tariffs were the means relied upon to secure the prosperity of Pennsylvania.

It was in the second term of Governor Shulze's administration that these matters come to a head. In his second inaugural address he gave an enthusiastic account of the resources of the State, of the peace and plenty which the whole country was enjoying. He spoke of the re-establishment of the State credit and of the economy practised in the government. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and a fitting time to tell of the liberties enjoyed by the people and the glowing success of the American experiment. The impressive death of both Adams and Jefferson on the Fourth of July forced upon every one solemn thoughts of the changes of the half century. In the midst of abounding prosperity, with radical Democracy triumphant, with every American proud of his

country as perhaps never before, the well-rounded periods of the address of Shulze, fresh from a practically unanimous election, fell upon the ears of the people with peculiar appropriateness.

He had claimed that more money had been spent on internal improvements in Pennsylvania than on any other section of equal size in the country. As the State could borrow at four and a half and five per cent., the Legislature decided that still greater liberality would add to the prosperity. The millions that they voted unquestionably stimulated industry and developed the country, but they injured credit. People began to ask whether there was any limit to the willingness of the people to load down the State with debt, and whether the stimulation would not need to be continuous to satisfy the masses now in supreme control, who reaped the fruits and paid but little of the taxes. Moreover, the commissioners had over-spent their appropriations, and temporary loans were made. In the face of these questionings and makeshifts the credit of the State visibly declined, and difficulty was found in making new loans on good terms.

A great improvement, however, resulted. Politics was predominant in the management, and not all the money was wisely expended. Poor work was done, and much of it had to be done over, but the conception was a great one, and vast benefits resulted. The idea was to make a canal along the Alleghany and Conemaugh Rivers from Pittsburg to Johnstown, a distance of one hundred and four miles. Here the boats were to be unloaded or carried bodily over the Alleghany Mountains on a railroad up and down a series of inclined planes with levels between. Another canal would then carry them down the Juniata and Susquehanna to Columbia, whence a railroad would bear their freight across the fertile lands of Lancaster and Chester Counties to Philadelphia. Another canal was to connect Pittsburg with Lake Erie; both branches of the Susquehanna were to be utilized in the same way, and another would bring the coal and lumber of the Lehigh country

from Easton to tide-water at Bristol. Boats were already passing from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill.

By the end of 1830 the canal from Pittsburg to Johnstown was completed. The Portage Railroad was begun the following year. There were five planes on each slope, with an aggregate elevation of about two thousand feet. At the head of each slope was a stationary engine, which drew up or let down cars by an endless wire rope. The railroad was open for public travel in 1835 as a State enterprise, each customer being permitted at first to supply his own motive power.

The water communication from the Alleghanies to Columbia was also nearly completed in 1830, and the railroad to Philadelphia, operated by horses, was also in partial use.

If, therefore, the State debt was mounting up, and contractors and politicians were enriching themselves, a great public improvement, a system of canals, aggregating about four hundred and thirty miles in length, was about completed by the close of Governor Shulze's administration. Besides these, three hundred miles of canals were owned by corporations. Six and a half million dollars had been expended by the State and three more were necessary for completion, but the Western trade was partly secured; more important still, the State was developed, and coal came from Mauch Chunk to Philadelphia by water (first in 1839) and sold for six dollars and fifty cents per ton, to the manifest advantage of the manufacturers of the great city.

Thus Pennsylvania entered upon her career of industrial development. Except a few importers in Philadelphia, all her citizens were practically unanimous for protection. Again and again did her Legislature pledge the State to its support. Under its fostering care manufactures sprung up, great in variety and value. Coal and iron she had in abundance, means of transportation by the liberality of the State were no longer lacking, foreign competition was cut off by restrictive duties. She needed the railroad system to complete the perfect machinery of trade; she needed a system of general education to insure the intelligence of all

of her citizens. The dawn of both was quite visible, and their brighter day was rapidly to advance.

They were not, however, questions on which parties would divide. A subject involving more trenchant partisanship now came into the political world,—a subject the significance of which the earlier statesmen never imagined, and the later have almost forgotten. It was the product of the intense patriotism of the times and the boldness which led men to attack whatever seemed a moral evil threatening the State. Nowhere was the battle more strenuously fought than in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1829–1837.

Antimasonry—Wolf and Ritner—The National Bank and Nicholas Biddle—Andrew Jackson and Pennsylvania—Governor Wolf, Thaddeus Stevens, and Public Schools.

THE antimasonic movement owes its origin to William Morgan, a mechanic of Batavia, New York, who announced in 1826 his intention to publish a book narrating the secrets of freemasonry. His fellow-Masons had him arrested and his house searched, without success, for the manuscript. They burned the printing-house where the book was supposed to be in process of manufacture, and finally seized the prisoner and abducted him. What happened to him after this was not at the time certainly known, but it was believed he had been murdered. In the local excitement which followed, while numerous arraignments were made, and public opinion unmistakably pointed out the abductors, difficulties seemed continually to rise up before the prosecution, and but few convictions followed. There grew up a belief that judges, juries, and witnesses, if Masons themselves, would shield a fellow from just punishment, and that the abduction and murder of Morgan were parts of a deliberately-planned plot, which declared the policy of the whole Masonic body towards any one who revealed the secrets of the order.

Interest in the matter spread over the country. The methods and objects of secret societies, of which the Masonic order was the prominent representative, underwent close scrutiny. Information as to oaths taken and the internal machinery were widely spread, and among many people the belief prevailed that these were inimical to sound judicial procedure and democratic government. They were investigated by committees of legislatures. Many lodges gave up

their charters, and their members felt at least partially absolved from their oaths. The difficulty of securing full and official information added to the suspicion of unseen dangers. Men did not know which of the political efforts of the day were due to a secret oath-bound organization, or to what efforts inconsistent with liberty the occult powers of this organization might be turned. The primary allegiance to the order and the danger of an imperial power within the State were much dwelt upon. The oaths requiring information of danger and assistance in distress were said to apply to criminals, and the belief prevailed that a Mason could hardly be convicted in court. Contrary asseverations were held to be a part of a Jesuitical system, which permitted falsehood in the interests of the order. The silence of the press was declared to be due to Masonic editors, and the Antimasons proceeded to establish a press of their own. Sanguinary penalties more to be feared than State punishments were asserted to be a part of the secret proceedings, and to crown all, the alleged deistical tendencies of certain formulæ were destructive to Christianity.

An intense and wide-spread feeling, fanned by such statements and vouched for by men of the highest character and attainments, soon took a political form, especially in the States of Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania it first seriously asserted itself in the gubernatorial election of 1829.

The Democrats had placed in nomination, George Wolf, of Northampton County. He had been a member of the State Legislature, had served two terms in Congress, and was now fifty-two years old, and, like Snyder, Hiester, and Schulze, was the son of a German immigrant. The importance of the German voters is indicated by the line of German governors stretching, with the exception of one term, from 1808 to 1838. Through many of these years the candidates of both parties were of this parentage.

The general impression was that Wolf would be practically unopposed. Against him there was known to be a heterogeneous opposition, which was to vote for Joseph

GOV. GEORGE WOLF.

Ritner. But within a day or two of election the *Philadelphia Gazette*, which had concerned itself very little about the nomination, said, "Fortunately for the people there is but one ticket for governor, and it does not appear that there are any circumstances which could lead to an apprehension of danger to our institutions by the unanimous choice of Mr. Wolf. He is represented as an honest man, not pledged to any faction." So far as Philadelphia was concerned, there was practically one ticket only, for Wolf polled eleven thousand one hundred and two, and Ritner five hundred and fifty-six votes. But when returns from other counties began to come in, the citizens were surprised to find a vast vote, in many cases a majority vote, cast for Ritner, and then it dawned upon them that an Anti-masonic party had come into existence.

Wolf, however, came safely through with a majority of sixteen thousand, but the new party, not at all discouraged, kept up its agitation.

The new governor could continue to congratulate the State on its peace, liberty, and prosperity. Its vote was held to be necessary to carry Presidential elections, and it was much coquetted with by all parties. In the matter of tariffs it usually gained what it wanted, and it was always definite in demanding ample protection for its industries. These were flourishing under the high duties of the year before and the money voted for canals. Warned by a recent failure to secure a loan, Wolf threw out the cautionary advice that these improvements should not be forced so rapidly as to impair credit, but announced himself as favorable to the further development of the vast hidden resources of the State. He advised strongly, in line with preceding governors, that something definite be done to create an effective system of public schools.

During the following eight years the main national issues which excited Pennsylvanians were antimasonry and Andrew Jackson, modified by the questions of the tariff and the National Bank. In State affairs the matters of public interest were internal improvements and a public

school system. These were inextricably complicated with each other.

Antimasonry was the first one of the great moral questions upon which a national party was based. The agitation reached its greatest development in 1832. In this year also Andrew Jackson came up for his second election, and Governor Wolf's first term ended.

The Antimasons placed in nomination for President and Vice-President William Wirt, of Maryland, and Amos Ellmaker, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Their vote was not large, and carried only one State, Vermont, though it probably disturbed the balance of power elsewhere. The Democrats selected Andrew Jackson for re-election, and associated with him Martin Van Buren, of New York. The latter gentleman was unpopular in Pennsylvania, and her delegates voted for William Wilkins, a Pittsburg judge, for Vice-President. The National Republicans, as the opposition party now called itself, gave their votes to Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Philadelphia. Thus three Pennsylvanians were candidates for the Vice-Presidency, a fact which shows the importance of the Keystone vote and the desirability of catering to local pride in order to secure it. "As goes Pennsylvania so goes the Union" was beginning to be a proverb of general acceptance. She has always voted for the winning candidate, except in the cases of John Quincy Adams and Grover Cleveland.

The National Bank, located in Philadelphia, chartered for twenty years in 1816, through the exertions of Alexander J. Dallas, had performed its useful mission. Could it have kept itself out of the political controversy of the day all would have been well. There was, however, a prejudice against all banks, and especially against a bank which performed some of the functions and reaped some of the profits of government. President Jackson had on two occasions attacked it bitterly, and it sought friends among his opponents. In 1831 there seemed in the official papers of the President some signs of relenting, and adverse politi*cians claimed* that Jackson wished to lull the people into

quiet till he should have secured his re-election. This they were determined not to permit. They judged that the bank had made so many friends and proven itself so useful that they could safely use it as a club with which to beat the President. His own Secretary of the Treasury spoke of it as a necessary part of the government, and many Democrats were known to favor its continuance. If, therefore, the subject were pressed to an issue, the President must either surrender or be overwhelmingly beaten. They did not fully appreciate the resources upon which their great antagonist could draw.

Henry Clay led the attack. He had been nominated for the Presidency by the National Republicans, and the object was to secure the electoral vote of Pennsylvania. State pride and financial advantage were supposed to make support of the Philadelphia bank a winning card in the political game. Though still more than four years in advance of the time when the charter would expire, a bill for rechartering was introduced into Congress early in 1832. The friends of Jackson would have been glad to postpone the struggle till after the election, but Clay would not have it, and in this pugnacious attitude he was encouraged by the president of the bank, Nicholas Biddle.

That accomplished gentleman was now forty-five years of age. Graduate of Princeton at eighteen, secretary of the legation in Paris and later in London, editor of the *Port Folio*, State Assemblyman and Senator, he had brought to the management of the affairs of the bank, when in 1819 he was appointed a director, eloquence, literary merit of high order, political skill, and knowledge of men, besides a profound study of financial problems. In 1823 he became president, and the finances of the country seemed to be at his feet. The stockholders were widely scattered, and he was given almost dictatorial powers. But the weaknesses of the bank, not necessarily serious, had to be concealed, Congressmen and editors had to be conciliated, and the political machinery of the times worked to its fullest capacity; and Nicholas Biddle, leaving the beaten ways of finance, became

lost in a maze of politics and speculation. At the time under consideration, however, he was widely respected, and it was not at all certain which was the more powerful, President Biddle or President Jackson.

The bill to recharter passed both houses and was promptly vetoed. Largely on this issue the Presidential election in Pennsylvania turned, and Jackson's personal popularity carried him triumphantly through by a majority of thirty-four thousand votes. The large number of depositors, the credit of the bank, its vast importance to the currency and reputation of the nation, pride in a great local institution did not avail against the hero of New Orleans, the ideal Democrat, the fearless assailant of pretension and aristocracy, and, it must also be added, the unscrupulous user of the spoils of office.

The fate of the bank was sealed, but it was not even allowed to die quietly. To reward friends was no more a Jacksonian measure than to punish enemies. The bank had opened the attack when it thought the President was weak, and now he felt no pity.

In the message to Congress he advised selling the government stock, seven millions of dollars, and strongly intimated a belief in the financial unsoundness of the bank. Congress was not compliant, but the poison began to spread among the people. If Congress, bought as he believed with the money of the bank, would not act, the President would not hesitate, and he prepared for a stroke which his powers permitted. The government had nearly ten millions of dollars in the vaults of the bank, and this gave it the stability and credit on which its business was based. He decreed that no more should be deposited, and that in the course of business the public funds should be withdrawn. So fatal seemed the proposal to public security and business stability that his best advisers hesitated. His Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, a son of the Philadelphia editor, refused to be his agent in the ruinous scheme. But Jackson's iron will would not bend, and he found a successor in Roger B. Taney. The money market became immediately feverish,

the symptoms developed into the panic of 1837, the most severe of our national financial crises.

There was no necessity for this withdrawal. The bank was the safest in the country, in spite of the dangers into which it had been drawn by speculations and political alliances. It seemed to weather the storm, a few deposits were withdrawn, its circulation was curtailed, but it carried on its operations successfully, though on a reduced scale, till the close of its charter in 1836.

The State of Pennsylvania rechartered it, and still under the presidency of Nicholas Biddle it continued to transact business. That brilliant financier was partly responsible for its decline, but he retained the confidence of the business public. The panic of 1837, with its great shrinkage in values, struck it hard. Many other banks went down, but it staggered along for a few years longer.

It was the amazing personal popularity of Jackson, shown not only in Pennsylvania but over the Union, rather than advocacy of special measures which carried him through in 1832. In the canvass for governor, Wolf made common cause with the President. The Republicans and the Antimasons, now stronger than ever, formed a close union under Ritner, himself a Democratic Antimason. It was a close and bitter contest. Wolf had made a creditable record. His objectors could only point to too great zeal for reform, especially in educational matters. Ritner, too, was a strong candidate. His father was an Alsatian immigrant. He was an opponent not only of Freemasonry, but also of slavery and intemperance, and a friend of education. He had been a long time in the Legislature, and was favorably known throughout the State. But his time had not yet come, and he was defeated by the narrow majority of about three thousand votes. Three years later, on account of a division among his opponents, he was elected.

Governor Wolf had been an ardent advocate of a system of free schools, and the question figured to some extent in the canvass. This was a new element in Pennsylvania politics, though as a subject of legislation it had never been absent.

The constitution of 1790 directed that "The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

"The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning."

For a number of years the time did not seem convenient in the eyes of the Legislature to do anything really effective towards the establishment of a common school system. The only attempts made were to pay the expenses of the poor in existing schools belonging to the religious denominations. The second clause was more vigorously acted upon, and the Legislature prior to 1830 appropriated about a quarter of a million dollars to colleges and nearly as much to academies. Some of these grants were accompanied by a condition that a certain number of children should be taught free.

The University of Pennsylvania received, after the Revolution, confiscated estates aggregating twenty-five thousand pounds. Dickinson College, at Carlisle, got five hundred pounds and ten thousand acres of land. In 1795 five thousand dollars more were given, on condition that students not exceeding ten in number should be educated free in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In succeeding years amounts aggregating forty-seven thousand dollars were appropriated. Franklin College at Lancaster, Jefferson College at Canonsburg, Washington College at Washington, Alleghany College at Meadville, the Western University at Pittsburg, Lafayette College at Easton, Madison College at Uniontown, Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, and Marshall College in Franklin County were all subsidized, generally with the condition attached that a certain number of young men should be prepared as teachers.

The experiment of providing teachers in this way did not prove successful, and the State never felt that she received the equivalent of her money. Nor in the main were the colleges prosperous. Jefferson and Lafayette did good work, but the life of the rest of them was a harassing struggle. Dickinson College closed its doors in 1832, a

wrecked institution under State control. When it opened a year later under Methodist management it started on a more flourishing career.

Even less successful was the effort to build up academies. The success of the Friends' Public School of Philadelphia, which gradually spread its branches over the city, encouraged the State to think that an extension of this model would solve the educational problem. If, as the Friends had done, a central school of high grade could be maintained in each community, with a sufficient number of feeders more elementary, and of varying charges from nothing upward, the State would be provided with a complete equipment. It was on the same plan that Franklin framed his academy and charity school, which afterwards became the University. Hence, laws were enacted making appropriations to academies in many counties. These academies were of all sorts,—sometimes managed by popular vote, sometimes by the religious bodies, but were always intended to be for the whole of the community, and the acceptance of the grant from the State required a certain amount of free instruction of the poor.

This was the provision on which the State depended for forty years to satisfy the constitutional requirement of 1790, and the results were not reassuring. Academies founded to secure State grants did not receive the support from their neighborhoods which would maintain them; they had no schools below them, and had to do all the elementary work themselves. In many places the people were oblivious to the advantages of education, and the plan of creating a demand by one central institution, radiating light and stimulating interest, did not work out good results. It was necessary to start at the bottom, not part way up. Nevertheless the process continued till about 1840, even after the establishment of the public school system. After this date there was little State aid granted to academies and female seminaries, the experiment being generally adjudged a failure.

Laws passed in 1802, 1804, and 1809 provided for an

enrolment of all children whose parents were financially unable to educate them. These were permitted to attend the most convenient school, and the county treasurers were authorized and directed to pay the bills.

As the income of teachers was often dependent upon the number of these enrolled, the school would marvellously fill up at the time of the quarterly inspection. The streets would be ransacked, faces would be washed, and a great show of teaching be manifest, to be followed by a departure to the alleys when the officers migrated.

In 1812 a special act for the city and county of Philadelphia authorized the establishment of public schools, at which, according to the words of the constitution "the poor may be taught gratis." There was a stigma attached to these schools, which kept the well-to-do away, and made them less desirable to the poor. Nevertheless, some good was accomplished, and the system was extended in 1821 to other counties containing the larger cities.

These schools were prompted by the introduction into America of the Lancasterian system of instruction, which promised to educate the community at very slight expense.

Joseph Lancaster was an English Quaker who, in the early years of the century, gained a meteoric reputation by conducting, without any other teachers than the children themselves, a school of one thousand poor boys and girls in London. The nobility and even royalty visited him, and a society, which has had an honorable connection with English educational history, was formed to extend the system, which it finally abandoned. He himself was unpractical, quarrelled with his supporters, and came to America.

The Lancasterian system was introduced into Philadelphia about 1807, and in 1818 the founder himself assumed charge. One master was enough for a school of any size, provided it could be accommodated in a single room with curtain partitions. The best of the most advanced children acted as monitors, and taught the class below. This in turn supplied the teachers for the next class, and so on down the list. On a high platform behind drawn cur-

tains, which were easily parted, the teacher supervised the whole work. Here, as in all other schools, only the poor were taught without payment.

The Philadelphia-Lancasterian schools, with defects inseparably connected with the system, were nevertheless temporarily most helpful. Thousands of children received a start in them, and the idea of training teachers, which idea the Lancasterians always taught, led to normal schools. Of course the monitors were very crude, and nothing saved the schools from contempt but the wisdom and skill of the one teacher at the head. He must be selected and prepared most carefully, and such a man under any conditions would have most potent influences. It required twenty years of trial to convince the Philadelphians that a better system must be devised.

Thus it was that in 1831 Pennsylvania alone of the Northern States had no comprehensive school system. Philadelphia was in a way provided. The Quaker counties of the southeast were fairly well studded with little primary schools, which taught all the children of Friends, and in some districts the most of the others. Academies in three-fourths of the counties supplied the wants of a few. In some communities a few public-spirited men would make the most of their circumstances and secure good schools. The northern tier of counties, settled by New Englanders who brought with them educational traditions, had many good schools. But the central and western parts of the State showed great gaps where there were no facilities, and where people were contentedly growing up in ignorance. One estimate places the number in the State at this date unable to read and write at three hundred and seventy thousand.

It was always claimed that the wording of the constitution of 1790 giving authority to provide education for "the poor" was a hinderance to the cause. It accentuated distinctions of riches and poverty and tended to produce permanent classes. It was, therefore, inconsistent with the extreme democracy of the times. It seemed unreasonable to many people to levy taxes for the schooling of those

amply able to pay their own bills. It looked like a blow at self-reliance and parental responsibility. Many a philanthropic individual, willing to give of his substance to the poor, was utterly opposed to extending further private or public beneficence. Besides, it was claimed that there was no constitutional warrant to appropriate any money except for the poor, and hence it was necessary to define the term, and thus emphasize and, to a certain extent, perpetuate the pauper conditions. It was not till the Supreme Court of the State decided that the constitution *did not prohibit* the use of State money for others than the poor that any way was seen to go forward. On this negative decision is built the whole school system of Pennsylvania.

The constitutional provision and the resulting tangle was, therefore, one reason why Pennsylvania lingered behind New England and New York in its system of schools. Without it legislation might have earlier framed a general law. With it the friends of such a law placed the greatest stress. on the argument that to educate the rich was the only way effectively to educate the poor.

Education had been the burden of every governor's message. For statements of its value and necessity for the individual and State welfare no writers have been more forcible than the line of governors of Pennsylvania from Mifflin to Wolf. But the Legislature paid but little heed. When the latter gentleman—himself a teacher—came to the chair, either his influence was more potent, or the example of other States was seen more obviously, and he succeeded where others had been unheeded.

In his annual message of 1831 to the Legislature he says, "I am thoroughly persuaded that there is not a single measure of all those which will engage your deliberations in the course of the session of such intrinsic importance to the general prosperity and happiness of the people of the Commonwealth, to the cause of public virtue and private morals, . . . as a general diffusion of the means of moral and intellectual cultivation among all classes of our citizens." This was re-enforced by petitions from twenty-four counties

for a better system of education, showing that the subject would not lack popular support.

The educational committee of the house summarized the existing conditions very clearly,—

"Several special enactments have been made at different periods, limited, however, to the city and county of Philadelphia and to the cities of Lancaster and Pittsburg. So far as your committee have become acquainted with their effects they believe they have been highly beneficial. Appropriations have also been made annually in aid of colleges, universities, and academies; but from their nature the benefits of these institutions can only be enjoyed by a few. The private schools throughout the State have been found inadequate to the wants of the people. In many places some inducement is wanted to an uneducated people to persuade them to educate their children. In others the population is too sparse to support schools; and where schools have been established complaints are made of their inefficiency owing to the want of competent teachers and of some system by which their better regulation may be secured."

Nothing, however, was done by this Legislature but provide a school fund. In the meantime "The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools," which was organized in Philadelphia in 1827, and of which Roberts Vaux was the leading man, was agitating the subject by speech and pamphlet, and public meetings and memorials sprung up over the State. Governor Wolf kept up the pressure, and in 1832 the house passed a bill providing a system to be maintained by taxation. The Senate defeated this, and the matter went over.

In the fall of 1833 the governor made education the leading feature of his message, and the increased strength of the free-school men in both houses gave indications that action was at hand. The hand that drafted the final form was that of Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia, a New Englander by birth, a man of wealth and culture, whose willingness to serve the State arose from a prospect of usefulness in the

field of education. The "Act to establish a general system of education by common schools" of 1834 was the result. This year is an era in Pennsylvania education. The bill passed both houses by an almost unanimous vote and became a law by the willing signature of the governor.

It divided the State into districts and provided for the election of directors. Districts might or might not establish schools. If they did not, they should receive no part of the State appropriation or the county tax. District school taxes to supplement the others should be levied wherever the sentiment was favorable. Permission was given to introduce manual labor into the schools. Inspectors were to be appointed by the courts to ascertain the qualifications of teachers, to grant certificates, and investigate the condition of the schools. At first seventy-five thousand dollars were appropriated yearly for the schools, and shortly after five hundred thousand dollars were granted for buildings. The system was fairly launched.

The passage of the law seemed to open rather than conclude the battle. The legislators had voted for the measure, either without a full comprehension of its provisions, or without a full understanding of the state of public opinion. In the fall of 1834 the districts were to vote as to the acceptance of the act and the election of school directors, and the contest was one of the most acrimonious in the history of Pennsylvania. "Schools" or "no schools" was the issue, and about one-half of the nine hundred and eighty-seven districts either voted negatively or declined to have any election. In the north and west, where class distinctions were loosely drawn and no religious sentiments interfered, the law was generally favored. The Lutherans, the German Reformed, the Mennonites, and the Friends generally opposed it, and all the ignorant, the selfish, and the conservative element of the State took the same position. In the German counties the opposition was the most determined and successful. These religious bodies had their own system of schools, which they were loath to see destroyed, and they were firmly convinced that education could not

THADDEUS STEVENS.

safely be made wholly secular. The connection between the school and the church was to the German and the Quaker mind a vital connection, and one sealed by two centuries of sacrifice.

Not only did the opponents refuse to accept the law, but they resolved to repeal it, and carried the contest into the legislative canvass. When that body assembled in December, 1834, the Senate was found to contain a two-thirds majority of anti-school men, and by a vote of twenty-two to eleven they sent to the house a repeal. Governor Wolf practically said, "If you dare to repeal, I will veto and make the common school question the issue of the next election." Thaddeus Stevens, a Vermont boy, now a representative from Adams County, led with vigor and eloquence the school forces in the lower house. He was an extreme Antimason, but declared he would give up all his favorite candidates for governor and support a friend of free schools against all other issues. Courage was put into his allies by his boldness and resources, and the last great battle was gained by a vote of fifty-four to thirty-seven. Repeal was defeated and the law itself strengthened and simplified. Inspectors were abolished and their duties given to the elected directors, and the methods of collecting the tax were made less onerous and expensive.

In the succeeding year, while opposition existed, the superintendent, Thomas H. Burrowes, was able to report that the number of the districts accepting had grown from five hundred and thirty-three to seven hundred and forty-two, the schools from seven hundred and sixty-two to three thousand three hundred and eighty-four, the teachers from eight hundred and eight to three thousand three hundred and ninety-four, and the scholars from thirty-two thousand five hundred and forty-four to one hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, figures which indicated future security for the system. It needed, however, much elaboration by legislative hands, and no man did more effective work in this respect than Dr. George Smith, of Delaware County.

Governor Wolf probably paid the penalty for his hearty advocacy of the school system by his defeat in 1835. There was a division in the Democratic party, and, though the school question was not the ostensible reason, all of its opponents were also his.

The regular Democratic nominating convention was held in March. After three days of contention over delegates, the convention adjourned to meet in May. After the adjournment the supporters of Wolf held a meeting, expunged the previous minutes, admitted the contesting delegates, and renominated the governor. The opponents were furious at the unexpected move, and meeting at the appointed time, two months later, placed in nomination Henry A. Muhlenberg, a member of the great Lutheran family of revolutionary renown. He was an accomplished scholar and an inheritor of educational traditions. But church ties were strong, the Lutheran idea of school and church connection, which they had brought from Germany, seemed at stake, as well as the perpetuity of the German language. While protesting against any antagonism to the system, they secured the bulk of the anti-school vote against Wolf, who carried the banner of "Public Education."

The other causes of difference were of minor importance. They related to appointments and offices, and were complicated by questions of national politics. Three years before, Pennsylvania refused to support Martin Van Buren for Vice-President. Now, this gentleman was put forward by Jackson as his successor in the Presidency, and Jackson's will was law. The Wolf people were supposed to be still somewhat lukewarm in their advocacy of Van Buren, as well as in their belief in the wisdom of the destruction of the National Bank, while Muhlenberg was an outspoken Jackson man. Both parties tried to secure the endorsement of the President, but that skilful politician contented himself with general approval of Democracy. A word, however, was construed by the Wolf partisans as favoring them, and they throve on it as against the other faction. The quarrel was extremely bitter and malevolent, the opposing

cliques being popularly denominated as "wolves" and "mules."

While this dissension was growing among the Democrats, the other parties were uniting. The Antimasons, of whom Thaddeus Stevens was the leader, nominated their standard bearer of two previous contests, Joseph Ritner, and the Whigs, as the old Federalists and National Republicans were now beginning to be called, endorsed the nomination. Their ranks were recruited by conservative Democrats, who could not follow Jackson in his extreme measures. The alliance moved on harmoniously to victory. Ritner received ninety-four thousand and twenty-three votes; Wolf, sixty five thousand eight hundred and four, and Muhlenberg, forty thousand five hundred and eighty-six. The alliance also triumphed in the State House of Representatives, which consisted of forty-five Antimasons, twenty-six Whigs, seventeen Wolf Democrats, and twelve Muhlenberg Democrats. This ensured the perpetuity of the school system.

The combination could not, however, carry the State the following year. Jackson's wonderful popularity easily triumphed, with Van Buren and Johnson for President and Vice-President. The other party voted for William Henry Harrison, Whig, for President, and Francis Granger, Anti-Mason, for Vice-President, but the Democrats were now united, and Harrison had to wait another four years. Thus, "having beaten all his enemies and rewarded all his friends, Jackson retired from public life to his home in Tennessee." For years afterwards, anything Jacksonian was sure of tremendous support from the Democrats of Pennsylvania.

In his final message, Governor Wolf stated that they had spent in internal improvement since the movement began in 1826, over twenty-two million four hundred and twenty thousand dollars, which money had been borrowed at five per cent. For this they had six hundred and one and one-fourth miles of canals and slack-water navigation in the State, and one hundred and eighteen and three-fourths miles of railroads. The tolls of the State for the year ending October 31, 1835, were six hundred and eighty-four thousand

dollars, and he felt encouraged to promise over a million dollars the succeeding year, so as to relieve the State of any necessity to tax itself for the maintenance of the system, a hope not realized.

Governor Ritner, in accepting office, advised a cessation of internal improvements till the finances were in better condition. He pledged himself to support the school system, which pledge he fulfilled. True to his first love, he peremptorily declared that "the people had willed the destruction of all secret societies, and that will cannot be disregarded."

CHAPTER XIX.

1837–1838.

The Constitution of 1838—The Slavery Issue—Pennsylvania for Freedom—Anti-Slavery Troubles in Philadelphia—Panic of 1837—Trouble in the State Treasury—The Buckshot War.

THE demand for a revision of the constitution of 1790 arose very soon after its adoption. As time passed on, while strong criticism was expressed concerning certain of its provisions, the fear of getting something worse was always a check upon change. The matter was submitted to the people in 1825, and they decided by about fifteen thousand majority to leave things as they were. Again, in 1835, the question of a convention to revise the constitution was voted on at the same time as the gubernatorial election. Two hundred thousand votes were cast for governor and one hundred and sixty thousand on the question of revision. The friends of change had a majority of about thirteen thousand, and the convention was called. The northern and western counties were many of them almost unanimous in its favor. The city of Philadelphia and its neighborhood and all the German counties opposed it. Speaking generally, the Ritner men opposed and the Democrats voted for the convention. The division was carried to the polls, and delegates were elected in November, 1836, with the result that sixty-six Whigs and Antimasons, sixty-six Democrats, and one doubtful delegate were elected. The balance of power was usually thrown upon the Whig side, and they were thus able to organize the convention, with John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, as president. The revision was, therefore, made more conservative than would otherwise have been the case. The convention met at Harrisburg on May 2, 1837, and continued its sessions there and in Philadelphia with some intermissions till February 22, 1838. In October,

1838, the people voted on the adoption of the constitution thus produced. In the main, the same geographical lines existed, with the large cities and the German counties in opposition and the north and west in favor. It was adopted by the narrow margin of twelve hundred votes in a total poll of two hundred and twenty-five thousand. The size of the vote indicates the interest attached to the subject. The questions at issue have an important historic interest. The whole past life of the State might almost be gained from the debates of the convention. Every subject of interest,—banks, the judicial system, the powers of the governor, the duties of the Legislature, purity of elections, the rights of conscience, antimasonry, slavery, schools,—was debated in some cases with great learning and wisdom. Omitting personal abuse and political sparring, the proceedings reflect great honor on the State of Pennsylvania.

When the convention met it appeared that there was a large party who preferred the old constitution just as it was. The "matchless instrument," under which the State had prospered for forty-seven years, was much eulogized. This view did not prevail, however, and the constitution was gone over section by section. In the first article, dealing with the powers of the Legislature, no important changes were made. The lower house was still kept between the limits of sixty and one hundred, and the upper from one-fourth to one-third the lower. The Senators were elected for three instead of four-year periods, one-third changing annualy. The general distrust of banks was shown by an additional section requiring six months' notice before incorporation, prohibiting a longer charter than twenty years, and giving the power to the Legislature to annul the charter whenever it proved injurious to the State.

The terms of new governors and of legislative sessions were made to begin on the first Tuesday in January instead of the first Tuesday in December. The most important change, and the one for which for thirty years there had been most clamor, was the limitation of the powers of the

governor in the matter of appointment. On this point arose a great disagreement. Many Democrats desired elections by the people and short terms for judges and all county offices. A few were extremists, favorable to cutting down the salaries of officials to those of workingmen, and keeping them subservient to the popular will by frequent elections. The Whigs, representing the large property interests of the cities, insisted, with great ability, on practical independence and high rewards for the judiciary. Nearly all were willing to give to the people of the counties the election of the county officers. A middle ground was found, which gave the governor power to appoint his Secretary of the Commonwealth, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, all the judges, while all county officers were made elective.

The third article, dealing with the qualifications of electors, was a subject of much debate. The conservatives claimed that a long period of residence and the payment of a tax were necessities to protect the polls. Many stories were told of the evasions of the old law, which allowed a Jerseyman to spend one night in Philadelphia, wash his cravat, and vote the next day; of the votes of a division being held back to ascertain the needed majority; and of legitimate voters being disqualified for party purposes. But democracy was not to be intimidated by such dangers, and the convention cut down the period of residence in the State from two years to one, but added the provision that the voter must reside in the election district for ten days. The old constitution allowed "every freeman" possessing the qualifications to vote; the new added the word "white," for it came out in the course of the debates that negroes had been voting in some counties, and a considerable minority desired the custom to continue.

Article four, relative to impeachment, was unchanged. Article five, which had permitted judges to hold office during good behavior, was changed to grant definite terms, —fifteen years for Supreme Court Judges, for judges learned in the law ten years, and for associate judges five years, and

made them removable by the governor on application of the Legislature. In this clause it was said, "The governor *may* remove," and some discussion occurred over the use of the auxiliary. The circumstance was recalled of an application to Governor McKean, in which the Legislature argued that in such a case "may" means "must." "May" means "won't," the sturdy governor replied. "May" was allowed to stand in the new constitution.

The sixth article prescribed the regulations for the election of county officers, and prohibited any member of Congress and other national official holding a State office at the same time.

The seventh related to schools. Coming just in the wake of the school agitation, there was a great pressure to conform the fundamental law to existing conditions, and to omit the clause authorizing "the poor to be taught gratis." But the fear that the whole constitution would be overthrown if the new ideas were incorporated allowed this mediæval clause to remain. As a matter of fact, it had ceased to be dangerous. A section was added to this article forbidding corporations to take private property without adequate security for payment therefor given in advance.

Articles eight and nine, the former requiring oath or affirmation of officers, the latter the bill of rights, were unchanged.

A provision for amending, which the old constitution lacked, was added as article ten, and the whole was ready to submit to the people. It was in the main a cautious revision, but the result showed it to be as much as the people would stand.

The slavery question had not by this time become an issue in national partisan politics. Whigs and Democrats might be for or against slavery without destroying their party standing. In Pennsylvania almost every person was more or less strongly opposed to the Southern institution. It is questionable whether any State has a more honorable record on the subject. From 1780, when she, the first

among the States, passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery within her limits, her representatives had been foremost at Washington and at Harrisburg in resisting the slave power. The first abolition society ever formed was organized in Philadelphia before the war for independence. It lasted as long as there was any need for it. The Friends, dropping politics with the Revolution, gave their energies to moral questions, and they found slavery standing right athwart the march of reform. To a man they were against it, though their hesitation about extreme measures prevented many from being radical abolitionists. They could and did enter their formal protest on all possible occasions. They addressed the Congress of the confederation in 1783. They were heard in the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. Scarcely had the new Congress got to work, when, on February 11, 1790, they memorialized it, declaring that the slave-trade contravened the Golden Rule, and asked whatever relief was possible. The next day the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, with Franklin as president, reinforced the discussion by its petition for the gradual suppression of slavery. The petitioners were vigorously attacked by the Southern Congressmen, and as vigorously defended by the Northern. Pennsylvania representatives were prominent in defence. Mr. Scott said, "I look upon the slave-trade to be one of the most abominable things on the earth." Mr. Hartley drew up the report of the committee, which stated that, on account of constitutional restrictions, the Congress could not prohibit the trade prior to 1808, nor could it effect the emancipation of slaves within the States. It could, however, lay a tax of ten dollars on each slave imported, it could prohibit trade to foreign countries, it could regulate the interstate traffic in the interests of humanity, and the memorialists were assured that it would promote their objects "on the principles of justice, humanity, and good policy." The Quakers bore the brunt of the slave-holding defamation, but they did not greatly care.

The Pennsylvanians could not prevent the passage of the

Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, but her representatives protested vigorously against the kidnapping of free negroes carried on under pretence of the return of runaway slaves. Mr. Smilie, a strong Democrat, declared, when a petition of colored people came before Congress, that they were "a part of the human species, equally the objects of attention, and they had a claim to be heard." John Sergeant, a Federalist, made a hopeless attempt to have the judges of the State where the negro was seized to pass on his freedom before his remission to the South. Senator Roberts was a strong supporter of all antislavery measures. Albert Gallatin in 1797 presented a Quaker petition setting forth that slaves freed by their coreligionists of North Carolina had been reduced to slavery by laws made after their manumission, and another vigorous and abusive discussion arose. It was a Pennsylvanian, Mr. Bard, that introduced in 1804 a resolution taxing every slave imported ten dollars, the limit the constitution permitted.

In 1817 the Philadelphia Friends again appeared with a memorial for suppressing the fitting out of vessels for foreign trade, and for prohibiting the interstate traffic. When in 1819 the struggle came over the extension of slavery into the great territory west of the Mississippi, generally known as Missouri, the Pennsylvania Senators, Roberts and Lowry, took strong and positive grounds for freedom. In speaking of the choice between a dissolution of the Union and such an extension, the latter gentleman said, "I will choose the former, though the choice is one that fills my mind with horror." No more manly words were spoken on this question than those of John Sergeant. By a unanimous vote of the Pennsylvania Legislature the position taken by her representatives was sustained, and her sentiment loudly expressed that slavery should be forever prohibited in Missouri.

In 1831 a convention of colored men met in Philadelphia. They adopted strong resolutions against colonization, then one of the strongly pressed movements of the times. They declared that it would only perpetuate slavery, and that to

rid the country of free negroes was a move in the interest of Southern slave-masters. Two years later, at the call of Evan Lewis, a Friend, the first national antislavery convention was held in the same city. Beriah Green, of New York, was president, and Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier were secretaries. It was no easy thing to be an abolitionist in those days. The South threatened all possible penalties, even murder, and the vast majority of Northern people considered an antislavery agitator to be a fanatic. But men like Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison had embarked their all in the cause and never hesitated at danger. The convention gave no uncertain sound. It was for the total suppression of slavery without compensation to owners or regard for consequences. The constitution and the laws were in league with the unholy practice. "This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger; it must be broken up." The members went forth to form societies, to distribute literature, to make speeches, to arouse and educate the people, to suffer in person and fortunes.

The activity of the agitators was met by increased opposition from the South and pro-slavery and peace-loving people of the North. The Southern leaders demanded that the mails be closed to antislavery literature, that meetings be broken up, and that laws be enacted to stop the disturbance, which they claimed would produce a servile insurrection. The demand was responded to by Northern action, and the cry went forth that even free speech and discussion were in danger. The Vermont Legislature sent a memorial to the other States calling their attention to the danger of the curtailment of this fundamental privilege, but the response was not hearty. In the seeming demoralization of the times nothing gave the freedom-loving men of the North more encouragement than the message of Governor Ritner in 1836. He spoke of the change of Pennsylvania sentiment in response to demands from Washington and the South. "In rapid and startling succession all the objects of State pride have been attacked,—internal improvements by national means,—distribution of proceeds of public lands

among the States,—protection of domestic industry,—the National Bank, and last, but worst of all, came the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery." He called attention to the action of the Legislature in 1819 requesting Pennsylvania's representation in Congress to vote against slavery in Missouri and in the District of Columbia, and to the resolution of 1827, which declared that "the traffic in slaves, now abhorred by all the civilized world, ought not in the slightest degree to be tolerated in the State of Pennsylvania." "While we admit," he continued, "and scrupulously respect the rights of other States, let us not, either by fear or interest, be driven from that spirit of independence and veneration for freedom which has ever characterized our beloved Commonwealth."

"Above all, let us never yield the right of free discussion of any evil that may arise in the land or any part of it."

These were the words which drew from Whittier the inspiring lines beginning,—

> "Thank God for the token, one lip is still free,
> One spirit untrammelled, unbending one knee."

There certainly was a great change among the people since 1819, when men of all colors met in harmony to discuss and reprobate the slave-trade. Political virulence was doing its work, and race prejudices by 1830 were greatly excited. From that date onward there were frequent riots in the streets of Philadelphia. Abolitionists became increasingly unpopular. Fights between the lower classes of whites and the blacks resulted in fires, maiming, and murder. Negroes' houses were burned and the occupants driven to the fields. The police were inefficient, and for days rioters ruled the city.

The culmination occurred in 1838 with the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. The antislavery men, finding it increasingly difficult to secure halls for their meetings, raised money, bought a lot on Sixth street between Cherry and Race, and built a hall capable of seating three thousand

people. It was to be dedicated to free discussion, but was to be used also for general purposes. It was opened by an address by David Paul Brown, a famous advocate, who often gave his services in the interests of fugitive slaves. The next day placards were placed over the city calling on the people to break up the meetings which were to follow. A letter was read from John Quincy Adams, then a venerable member of the House of Representatives, and a poem by Whittier, editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, just started. As other antislavery meetings followed, the crowd began to break the windows with stones and to jeer the speakers. The mayor was appealed to, and he expressed his willingness to protect the house if he were given the keys. He made a conciliatory speech and departed. The mob then attacked the building, built bonfires against it, cut the gas-pipes, and in a little time the hall was burned. Whittier lost all his books and papers and barely escaped being mobbed. Benjamin Lundy's whole stock was destroyed. An attempt was made to burn a "shelter for colored orphans" and the *Public Ledger* building, but the authorities saved them. The inefficiency of the police and fire departments continued to be shown in the next decade, and Philadelphia achieved an unenviable reputation for rioting.

The year 1836 was all over the Union one of great seeming prosperity, of high prices, and of abundant speculation in public lands and stocks. It was the closing year of Jackson's administration, and all outward signs indicated the vast success of his financial as well as his political measures. The National Bank was destroyed. It is true it had been rechartered by the State under the name of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States, and was still a rallying point for the Whigs, and an object of bitter attack by the Jacksonian Democrats. But though all men did not know it, its political power was gone. The national treasure was scattered among a number of State banks, some strong, but some utterly rotten, though this rottenness had not yet been revealed. The national money was used by them as the basis of a system of bank-notes which were issued freely

and accepted unhesitatingly as an aid to speculative and legitimate enterprises.

Into this condition of apparent healthfulness, but inherent disease, came Jackson's "specie circular," requiring all public lands to be paid for in gold. There was also an evident purpose to throw suspicion over the notes, in order to prepare the way for the favorite Democratic policy, an exclusive specie circulation. The notes came back to the banks for redemption, with a strenuous call for gold with which to buy land. With every sign of weakness came increasing distrust. The country was in debt sixty million dollars to Europe for goods brought in during the era of high prices, and a stringency there made a sudden demand for payment. The general conditions soon became greatly strained, and early in 1837 the commercial panic began. The banks suspended specie payment. Money commanded exorbitant rates, and the whole commercial structure came down with a crash. There were bread riots in New York. The national government found its "pet banks" unworthy of credit, and lost millions of dollars. By decree of Congress it had been distributing its surplus cash among the States. But its surplus cash had disappeared, and it could not even pay its bills. The State treasuries in turn then felt the disaster.

The storm centre was in New York, and in December, 1837, Governor Ritner could congratulate his State that she came off favorably in the general wreck. The next year there was an attempt at resumption and an apparent betterment of general conditions. But it was only forced, and could not last. Nicholas Biddle resigned his Presidency in 1839, and two years later the bank failed, hopelessly involved.

In the mean time the Pennsylvania treasury was showing symptoms of sickness. A debt of thirty million dollars had been built up, over twenty-two million dollars of which had gone for internal improvements, which did not yield enough to pay the interest. The total revenue of the State was a half million dollars short of the expenses,

and Governor Ritner's honest soul was vexed at the temporary loans which the policy of the Legislature forced upon him. He could not veto the separate items of the appropriation bills, and the good and bad were so mingled he was forced to permit all to pass together. Private companies and sectional jealousies were allowed to dictate terms to the State. A flood in the Juniata on June 19, 1838, swept away forty miles of canal, and four hundred thousand dollars were borrowed, without legislative authority, from the Bank of the United States to repair the damage. To complete the system, over three millions dollars more were needed, and nearly a million of the permanent loan would come due in 1839 and 1840. The last message of the governor, in December, 1838, was therefore one of misgiving. He was one of the best of Pennsylvania's governors, an outspoken friend of honesty, freedom, education, and temperance, and he could not view the triumph of Jacksonian principles, the overthrow of banks, the suppression of slavery discussion, the use of public office and public money to reward friends and punish enemies, with anything but alarm. His party, now the United Whig party, made up of old Federalists, Antimasons, and conservative Democrats, made him their standard-bearer for the fourth time in 1838.

The Democrats, now also united, presented as their candidate David Rittenhouse Porter, of Huntingdon County. He was a Pennsylvanian by birth, of Irish ancestry. His father was a faithful and efficient officer of the revolutionary army, and a friend of Pennsylvania's first astronomer, who was his teacher, and for whom he named his son.

No campaign of Pennsylvania, before or since, has been conducted with more virulence. Thaddeus Stevens, fresh from an antimasonic investigation of masonry, where all Masons refused to testify, injected into it the vigor and violence of his own personality. He was assisted by Thomas H. Burrowes, Secretary of the Commonwealth, afterwards a successful administrator of the public schools, and Theodore Fenn, the editor of *The Telegraph*, the Ritner organ. The Democrats had an equally effective organization, with the

newspaper support of the *Keystone* and the *Iron Gray*. Lies of the most atrocious kind were published about the candidates, and many of the measures by which both parties sought to win the election were greatly reprehensible. The Anti-masons and Whigs depended upon the appropriations to canals and railroads, and the laborers employed thereon, the new constitution, the public schools, and the recharter of the National Bank. The Democrats had behind them the Jacksonian policy in its entirety. The returns showed Porter's election by about one hundred and twenty-seven thousand votes to one hundred and twenty-two thousand. The lower House of Legislature was almost evenly divided, the majority being dependent upon which of two contesting delegations from Philadelphia should be seated. Without these, there were forty-eight Democrats and forty-four Anti-masons and Whigs. The Senate had a Whig majority, and quickly organized. Then began a struggle which is generally known as "The Buckshot War."

Each of the sections of the assembly elected its speaker and perfected its organization, taking in its own delegation from Philadelphia. Sometimes sitting in the same hall at the same time and sometimes apart, each body professed to be the legal Legislature. Harrisburg became the centre of all eyes, and a great crowd, composed of violent partisans, assembled there. This crowd, however, never did anything more serious than hoot and cheer, carry an offending speaker from the platform to a chair in the aisle, and force Thaddeus Stevens to jump out of the back window of the Senate chamber. Public meetings were held, and sympathy seemed to be in the main with the Democrats. Governor Ritner finally issued a proclamation stating that, inasmuch as a mob at the seat of government was overawing the Legislature, the civil and military authorities of the government should hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the capital and aid in the supremacy of law. He also, by means of laborers on State works, took possession of the arsenal. This would have precipitated a fight, had not two gentlemen in whom

the people had confidence pledged their honor that the arms should not be used against the citizens.

The governor then ordered General Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, to bring to the seat of government a force "sufficient to quell this insurrection". He gathered together one hundred men. In the attempt to supply buckshot cartridges for these troops, the bearer was waylaid and compelled to surrender them to the Philadelphia populace. Many of these have been preserved as mementoes of the "war."

Two days later the troops reached Harrisburg. The General refused to allow them to be used to support either party, or for any other purpose than to protect public property, and decided himself upon the propriety of any orders given him. He was ordered home, and a small detachment under Whig officers was brought in from Carlisle. No disturbances, however, occurred, and the presence of troops probably did more to damage the governor's party than to aid it.

In the mean time three members of the Whig house abandoned their party and joined the Democratic organization. This gave the latter body a clear majority of uncontested seats. The Senate was finally brought to recognize it as the legal body. The election returns were opened, the new constitution formally declared adopted, and David R. Porter became governor.

This was the last struggle of the antimasonic party. Its members generally became Whigs, and afterwards Liberty Men and Republicans.

CHAPTER XX.

1838–1850.

Ritner's and Porter's Messages—Deficits and Mismanagement—Public Works—Riots in Philadelphia—Girard's Will and College—State Politics—The Harrison Campaign—Tariff—Mexican War—Wilmot Proviso—Improvements—Graham's Magazine—Bayard Taylor and T. Buchanan Read.

RITNER wound up his administration by a message to the Legislature, in which he narrated in brief the events of the "war," claiming that the introduction of the soldiers had saved the government from violence at the hands of the mob. He referred to the tests for voting imposed by the new constitution, and the great evil of betting on elections, which made "all good men doubt the fairness of the results." The duties of Superintendent of Instruction were now becoming quite onerous, and he recommended that the Secretary of the Commonwealth be relieved of them, and a special office be created, a recommendation which was afterwards adopted. He pointed with satisfaction to the growth of the public school system during his incumbency. The common schools had increased in number from seven hundred and sixty-two to about five thousand, the academies from seventeen to thirty-eight, and of the ten hundred and twenty-seven school districts eight hundred and seventy-five had now accepted the provisions of the law. What now was needed was a supply of trained teachers. In his treatment of the financial question he was hardly fair. While it was true that the public debt had not grown since 1835, he left conditions such that a considerable increase was immediately necessary. His statement that the canal and railroad tolls had yielded about a million dollars during the last year was true only

of the *gross* receipts. As a matter of fact, the repairs and charges for motive power had eaten up all the profits.

When Porter came into office he found the treasury empty and a scale of expenditures which would inevitably produce a large yearly deficit. The canals were in such a condition that work could not be stopped, or all that had been done would be lost. There would apparently be no money to pay the interest on the debt due the 1st of February, 1839, and "it would be an everlasting stigma if any creditor should have to wait" for his money. The debt was now about thirty million dollars, and the apparent deficit for 1839 was nearly four million dollars. United States distributions of public funds could not be expected, and bank stocks, of which the State owned several millions, would not yield much, if any, dividends. For the debt the State could point to a great system of public transportation, which, however, was still only partially completed. The great need was ready money, and the only recourse was borrowing. But when the attempt was made no proposals came from the State banks. Porter was furious at the "combination," as he deemed it, of the banks against their creator, the State, and advised, after the fashion of Jackson, to break them down by the immediate sale of the State stock. The banks were already on the verge of closing their doors, and were restrained by other than political considerations from extending their loans. On October 10, 1839, they suspended payments. Governor Porter succeeded in procuring about six million five hundred thousand dollars during the year in Europe and at home, paid the debts of the State, and continued the canal work.

He dealt vigorously and plainly with the situation, which was not of his creating. He told the people that they had been deceived by the publication of the gross receipts of the public works, while the item of expenses was kept in the background. He warned them that the disastrous financial conditions would still further curtail income; that they were compounding their debt, and had been for years, at the rate of a million or more a year; that, while they

had a great system of public improvements, it would be impossible to sell it at cost, or at other than ruinous prices; that their resources for borrowing were about exhausted, and the fiscal outlook was seriously dark. The improvements must not cease, or much that had been done would be lost, and the two millions a year needed for ordinary expenses must be procured by taxation.

As the Legislature adjourned on April 16, 1840, without any especial provision for the debt, he called an extra session, and gave them some plain advice, telling them the public works would soon cease to produce revenue if they were not attended to, and that the interest on the debt would soon be in arrears. The Legislature responded by authorizing new loans and levying taxes on watches, pleasure carriages, and other luxuries, which produced about six hundred thousand dollars a year.

Still the debt mounted upward, business was bad, and money hard to obtain. In August, 1842, there was nothing in the treasury to pay interest on the debt, and certificates had to be given instead of cash. This continued for two and one-half years, the certificates being funded, thus increasing the principal of the debt. The bonds were now selling at fifty per cent., a loss to the holders of the debt of twenty million dollars.

Unfortunately for the reputation of Pennsylvania, Sidney Smith held some of the bonds. In a series of brilliant letters, written in 1843, he has immortalized the adversity of the State. "The fraud is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania by the richest State in the Union. . . . It is an act of bad faith which has no parallel and no excuse." "And now, having eased my soul of its indignation and sold my stock at forty per cent. discount, I sulkily retire from the subject with a fixed intention of lending no more money to free and enlightened republics, but of employing my money henceforth in buying up Abyssinian bonds." He was too severe; for, though the Legislature was careless of the credit of the State, and had to be again and again brought back to its duty by the governor, and though cor-

rupt officials and citizens were becoming rich out of State money, yet Pennsylvania ultimately paid every dollar of indebtedness, with interest on the delayed interest. Many a person who has read the attack and been ignorant of the facts has unjustly assumed that the State had repudiated its obligations.

The story, however, is dark enough. Omitting all direct corruption, which was not absent, the financiering of the State was not brilliant. Its credit, which in Wolf's time seemed inexhaustible, enabled abundant loans to be made, and new loans paid the interest on the old ones. It was not till 1845, when the debt had increased to forty millions, that solid footing was reached. By this time, also, the hard times in the business world were over. After holding its own for a few years, the State treasury showed a balance, and a process of rapid reduction would have followed had not new improvements been started. The credit of the State remained unquestionably good. The banks had aided the process of accumulating debt by furnishing facilities for borrowing. They had been created out of proportion to the needs of business, and two-thirds of them had failed, seriously damaging the remainder. After the main line of canal and railroad was provided for, the fever for extensions and side lines raged stronger than ever. Six millions were borrowed for these, and a new set of improvements was begun, all of which were abandoned, and passed into the hands of private companies without consideration, while the State still continued to pay interest on the money. Parts of the older canals were also given away, but still contractors and land claimants had to be paid, and the State sold out its bank and other stocks, which cost over four millions of dollars, for one-third this amount. The whole movement was partly a result of the reckless spirit of the community engendered by excessive issues of bank-notes.

Nor was the Commonwealth any more successful in the management than in the construction of public works. They became the prey of partisan spoilsmen, who were

rewarded or punished through their pockets for their political activities. Friends of the party in power received free passes, low rates for freight, and prompt transportation; opponents had full charges and irritating delays. Employees moved from town to town on election day on gravel trains, voting through the livelong day. They were added to without regard to the needs of the service and discharged when their political usefulness was ended. It is no wonder that ultimately the people demanded the sale of the system, even though it brought only one-fourth the money expended. Of what avail were tolls and income in the face of such general demoralization!

Among the expedients for paying debts were what were called relief notes. The State could not issue paper money, but it could create banks and prescribe conditions. The banks were authorized to subscribe to a loan of the Commonwealth. Notes were then issued to be redeemed by the banks and secured by the pledge of the State. They thus became non-interest-bearing certificates of indebtedness. They were issued to the extent of two millions of dollars, and were paid off at the rate of about two hundred thousand dollars a year. They induced a fictitious and temporary prosperity, but had to be redeemed before solid ground could be reached.

In 1844 an act was passed submitting to the people the sale of the main line of public improvements, and they voted in the affirmative, still leaving it with the Legislature to arrange the terms. A year earlier Simon Cameron and four associates had offered three millions of dollars for the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, but the price was not considered high enough. This had cost the State over four millions of dollars; the canal along the Susquehanna and Juniata over five millions; the Portage Railroad nearly two, and the western division over three, making a total of about fourteen million four hundred thousand dollars, besides large additions for repairs and interest.

It was becoming increasingly evident, as the possibilities of steam railroads increased, that the cumbrous portage

system and the slow transportation in canals would not secure the Western trade. A through railroad was necessary, and the State had no heart to undertake it. Engineers now pronounced it possible to cross the Alleghanies, and the best route was evidently one near the line of the existing system. In 1838 the route was surveyed, but it was not till 1846 that the project assumed shape. An act was passed providing that if a new company should have three millions of stock subscribed and one million actually paid in by the 25th of February, 1847, together with fifteen miles of railroad constructed at each end of the proposed line, a charter should be issued, and the law granting the right of way to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to extend itself from Cumberland to Pittsburg should be declared void. These conditions were complied with, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was created. It was a contest between Philadelphia and Baltimore for the western trade centring in Pittsburg, and Philadelphia won, though at the time Pittsburg did not like it.

John Edgar Thomson, at first as engineer, afterwards as president, is to be largely credited with the successful management of the road during those early years of formation. Work began both at Harrisburg and Pittsburg in July, 1847; in about three years connections were made on both sides with the Portage Railroad, and on December 10, 1852, cars were run through from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. The city of Philadelphia had subscribed for two million five hundred thousand dollars of stock and the county of Alleghany for one million more, and the road adopted the policy, which was reasonably well adhered to, to build out of its stock receipts without borrowing.

The weakness of local government was strikingly shown in the Philadelphia riots of 1843–44. The "Native American" movement, which swept the country during the next decade very much as the antimasonic movement had in the last, arose out of local conditions in Philadelphia and New York. As yet it was but a prejudice against Catholics, arising out of their attitude to the school question. Phila-

delphia had became proud of her new school system, which was the best in the State.

Kensington, which was not then a part of the city, was filled with Irish Catholic weavers. An organization formed to insist on the reading of the Protestant Bible in the public schools began to hold meetings in this stronghold of Catholicism in 1844. Their meetings were broken up, and between them and the Hibernia Hose Company a miniature battle raged. A lad trying to protect the American flag was killed. He became in the eyes of the excited Protestants a martyr to American institutions. Crowds gathered, the houses of Catholics were attacked, and a general riot ensued. The next day a great procession from the city moved on Kensington. The Catholics had made preparations to resist, and, being in the houses, had the best of it in the subsequent firing. The hose company's building was set on fire, and the flames spread. The riots continued for several days, the police arrangements being entirely inadequate. Catholic churches were attacked and had to be defended by the police, and St. Augustine's, on Fourth Street below Vine, was burned to the ground. Soldiers were finally called out. Governor Porter arrived and issued a proclamation, when outward quiet was restored.

But reports that Catholics were fortifying their churches and the enlivening efforts of Fourth of July speeches renewed the excitement in Southwark, also an Irish Catholic section. A church there was forced, and the guns, powder, and rudely-made pikes found there added fuel to the excitement. The militia was again called out and a battle ensued in the streets, in which two of the soldiers and a dozen of the mob were killed. The result of the riots was a reorganization and increase of the police force of the city and suburban districts.

The next year Pittsburg met with great misfortune in a fire which burned over one-third of the city, including nearly all the best business portion.

In 1831 Stephen Girard died. He was nearly eighty-two years old. He was the richest American of his age or any

preceding one, without heirs, and the contents of his will were awaited with a popular interest never exceeded. Of his eight million dollars all but about two hundred thousand dollars were given to public uses. A large gift went to the city of New Orleans, the balance to the city of Philadelphia for various improvements, including his college. The latter bequest, nursed by favoring circumstances and good management, amounts to thirty million dollars, making Girard College the most richly endowed educational institution in America.

The chairman of the board of trustees was Nicholas Biddle when, in 1833, the corner-stone was laid. It was he whose influence directed the fine Grecian architecture of the principal building, though the architect was Thomas W. Walter, who afterwards designed the National Capitol at Washington.

The directions to the trustees were rigid in the extreme. If literally obeyed, no such building as now adorns the grounds would have been possible, for there was to be no "needless ornament." He directed that there should be no wood in it except for doors, windows, and shutters. He prescribed the way the sashes should open; the height and thickness of the surrounding wall; the number and size of the rooms of each story; and all the small points of construction in troublesome detail.

The institution was to be for the feeding, clothing, and education of orphans, born (in the order named) in Philadelphia, other parts of Pennsylvania, the city of New York, and New Orleans. They were to be taught "facts and things rather than words or signs," and might remain in the College till they were from fourteen to eighteen years old. "No minister of any sect whatever" should be admitted within its walls, but "the purest principles of morality" were to be taught, and "attachment to our republican institutions and to the sacred rights of conscience."

The institution was not opened till 1848. The estate had in the mean time greatly increased, and it has only been by lavish improvements that the trustees have succeeded since then in expending the rapidly growing income.

The people approved the straightforward course of Governor Porter, and re-elected him in 1841 by twenty-three thousand majority over his Whig competitor, John Banks. Three years later the Democrats again carried the election by the narrow majority of four thousand votes. They had nominated first H. A. Muhlenberg, but he died before the election, and Francis R. Shunk became governor. He was again elected in 1847. He had been Governor Porter's Secretary of State during his first administration, and in 1842 had settled in Pittsburg to practise law. He died in 1848, and William F. Johnston, the Whig Speaker of the Senate, succeeded him by virtue of his office. Writs were issued for a new election, and Johnston, carried along by a Whig wave which swept over the nation, came in by the narrow majority of two hundred and ninety-seven over his Democratic competitor, Morris Longstreth.

While still generally true to Democracy in State affairs, the vote of Pennsylvania for President in 1840 went to William Henry Harrison. He was wonderfully popular in the West as Indian fighter and leader in frontier struggles, and in 1838 an antimasonic convention, with Thaddeus Stevens in control, nominated him in Philadelphia. The national Whig convention was held in Harrisburg in December, 1839. The Tippecanoe enthusiasm ran away with the delegates. Clay was a candidate with devoted friends who would sacrifice everything for him, but it was recognized that Antimasons and antislavery men could not be counted on to support him, and Harrison, with Tyler to placate the friends of Clay, was nominated. The Democrats selected Van Buren. The campaign for Harrison went through with a hurrah. The log cabin and the barrel of cider triumphed rather than the ostensible Whig principles, banks, internal improvements, and paper currency. In fact, in the midst of hard times the people were protesting against executive interference with settled principles of finance and the selfishness of office-seeking which seemed to have brought them into existence. Van Buren was never popular in Pennsylvania, and the honest farmer and warrior of the

West, the representative of the common people, was favorably compared with the rather pretentious but physically insignificant occupant of the Presidential chair. The aristocratic Whigs of the cities were wise enough to keep in the background and allow the armory of their enemies to be employed in their favor. The young men, for whom the name of Jackson had lost its glamour, rushed into the ranks of the reform party, and Harrison went into office by an overwhelming popular and electoral vote, to which latter Pennsylvania contributed thirty, though only by the narrow margin of three hundred votes in a poll of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand. The fruits of victory were lost by his early death, and Democratic shrewdness soon recovered lost ground.

National politics turned for a time on questions of money. The memory of Biddle's insolvent bank was a hard load for the Whigs to carry, but they shouldered it and did their best to create a new one. President Tyler, however, defeated their efforts by his vetoes. They had a more popular cause in their opposition to the Democratic policy of an exclusive hard money system, and here they prevailed.

The tariff question, in which Pennsylvania was vitally interested, was also affected by these differences. In 1833 a compromise tariff act had been passed, which provided for a reduction of all duties which exceeded twenty per cent. One-tenth of the excess was to be taken off each alternate year till 1842. Then one-half of the remaining excess was to go in January, and the other half in July. This arrangement had been carried into effect. The gradual decrease till 1842 had not had much effect on the markets, for it was anticipated, and the tariff men had always hoped that the violent reduction provided for in 1842 would be intercepted by other legislation. But when Pennsylvania found that on top of her financial difficulties of home manufacture, particularly severe just then, was added the disturbance of the market due to uncertainty as to what Congress would do, do, her dismay was evident. With a Whig Legislature and

Harrison in the Presidential chair, there seemed a good prospect of relief. But Tyler, a Southern man, seemed to be lapsing into Democracy, and had quarrelled with Clay, the bulwark of protection. The bill which followed in September, 1842, was a political measure, framed to suit the objections of the President, full of inconsistencies, but granted generally high duties. It was superseded by another, passed four years later by the Democrats, with lower duties, which remained in force till 1857, when a plethoric treasury dictated still further reductions, against the vote of Pennsylvania alone.

The Presidential canvass of 1840 was hardly over when arrangements were being made for the next. A Whig convention at Harrisburg in 1842 proposed General Winfield Scott as a candidate, but the people were now determined that Clay should have his chance. After the defection of Tyler they wanted a man upon whom reliance could be placed. He was the great champion of the American system of protection, of a national bank, an opponent of ultra pro-slavery sentiments and designs, and a most attractive personality. There was but one possible candidate in the convention of 1844.

The Democrats, through the operation of the two-thirds rule, passed aside Martin Van Buren and nominated a safe, respectable, comparatively unknown man, James K. Polk, and with him was associated, after Silas Wright,* of New York, had declined, George Mifflin Dallas, the son of Alexander J. Dallas, the founder of the National Bank of 1816. Dallas, James Buchanan in the Senate, and Charles J. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, now a leader in the House of Representatives, were the chiefs of Pennsylvania Democracy. Polk wrote to win Keystone support that they might place on their banners "protection and the tariff of 1842," and he carried the State.

The contest in the nation was close, and was decided by

* Silas Wright received information of his nomination and declined it by means of the telegraph, the first case in our history.

the vote of the "Liberty party" of New York, which drew off enough Whig votes from Clay to allow Polk to carry the State, thus precipitating the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. Polk made James Buchanan his Secretary of State, and he resigned the Senatorship in March, 1845. From this time forward to the Civil War Buchanan led the Pennsylvania Democracy. In the same year Simon Cameron was elected to the Senate as a Democrat. He had, however, agreed to support the tariff of 1842 and the distribution to the State of the proceeds of the sale of public lands, both favorite measures of the opposition, and thus secured Whig votes.

The Mexican War was not popular at the North, but the Southern leaders with their Northern allies, by diplomacy and threats, brought about Texan annexation and its inevitable sequel, the war. It was not disguised that the purpose was to increase slave territory and maintain the political balance, which the rapid growth of the North seemed likely to overthrow. Though Polk's election had turned on this question, and Pennsylvania had given him her electoral vote, yet she was not a pro-slavery State, and the trend of events was distasteful to her.

Yet she was loyal to the nation. In May, 1846, six regiments were called for by the government. She responded with an offer of nine, but they were not accepted. Later in the year two regiments were mustered in, and they went through the campaign doing their duty under Taylor and Scott. The first regiment, which was the earliest from a Northern State to start for the seat of war, left Pittsburg on December 23, 1846.

But when the fruits of the contest came to be disposed of, a Pennsylvania member of the House embodied his name in the most striking political phrase of the day. David Wilmot was a Democrat from Towanda, who had just commended himself to the favor of the Southerners by voting for the reduced tariff law of 1846. He made an earnest speech in which he did not object to the acquisition of fresh territory if it were secured against slavery, and offered a

resolution that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory except for crime." The "Wilmot proviso" became for the time being the rallying cry of the free party of the North. It was carried by the House and failed in the Senate, and, as was usual in those years, the South secured all that it wanted, and the new territory was open to slavery.

Wilmot was supported by his Legislature at home in the House by a vote of ninety-six to nothing and in the Senate by twenty-four to three. In these larger questions affecting freedom and slavery Pennsylvanians of all parties were unequivocally on the side of the North.*

There was great competition between the parties to secure the acceptance of their nominations by the popular general of the war, Zachary Taylor, as candidate for the Presidency. He had not voted for thirty years, and desired to go into office by popular rather than partisan choice. Cameron, whose political foresight appreciated his availability, wanted him for the Democrats. He was a Southern man and a slave-holder, and experience showed that such could be trusted. But the Whigs offered more, and nominated the general without a platform, to the mortification of the old burden-bearers of the party, Clay and Webster. Taylor was a plain, modest, but capable man, and proved a good candidate. He was supposed to combine in a curious way the prestige of military renown and opposition to the policy which brought on the war; to stand for Whig ideas in general, but to be non-committal on the Wilmot proviso and other special issues. Pennsylvania gave him her vote.

By 1850 Pennsylvania had in secure control her great, but now manageable, debt. Her credit was good. Her increase of population since 1840 showed the greatest percentage of any State in the Union, and she had over two

* The reputation which Wilmot gained was partly accidental. It had been agreed that whoever of a certain number of Northern Democrats should gain the recognition of the Speaker should offer the resolution, which had been prepared by Brinckerhoff, of Ohio. Wilmot first secured the floor.

million three hundred thousand people within her borders. In the indispensable articles—wheat, iron, and coal—her production exceeded any other State.

Politically she was naturally Democratic, though by a small majority, and the Whig party, by taking advantage of a popular candidate or disputes among its adversaries, could occasionally secure a victory. There had been much to be ashamed of in the decade just closing, corruption of voters and legislators, farcical investigations in which the fees of witnesses were a prominent feature, squandering of public lands and public improvements, weak city administration, small-minded but shrewd public men, who kept better men out of office; but the great source of difficulty, the public lines of transportation, was now in better condition, and there seemed to be an honest desire to uncover the errors of the past, and to live a healthier political life. The cause of freedom to which she was overwhelmingly committed was purifying her morals and giving higher impulses to her people. This cause was to be the engrossing feature of the coming decade.

The city of Philadelphia now largely regained the literary supremacy of the first decade of the century. George R. Graham, in 1841, united two periodicals of small circulation, and created *Graham's Magazine*. With one of them came Edgar Allan Poe as editor. James Russell Lowell was for a short time associated with the editorial labors. Much of Poe's best work appeared in its columns. Longfellow wrote for it "Spanish Student," "Nuremberg," "The Arsenal at Springfield," and a number of other small poems. Hawthorne was a contributor; so were Whipple, Phœbe and Alice Carey, Simms, Willis, and indeed all the important American literary men of its time except Irving. Charles J. Peterson, Rufus W. Griswold, James Fenimore Cooper, Edwin P. Whipple, Bayard Taylor, and Charles G. Leland were at various times associated with the editorial management. The subscription list, encouraged by the brilliancy of the corps of contributors, ran up to thirty-five thousand, an unprecedented figure for those days. Graham

was the first publisher to pay fair prices to American authors, and to this and his judgment in recognizing talent, his success is largely due. In 1859 *Graham's Magazine* became the *American Monthly.*

Bayard Taylor was born in Chester County, in 1825. His first poem was printed in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia in 1841. In 1844 he went abroad under contract to write letters for certain papers. Those to the *New York Tribune* were afterwards printed in book form under the title of "Views Afoot." He was a great traveller and an untiring writer as correspondent, poet, and novelist. Some of his novels relate to the life surrounding his home in Kennett Square, among the Quaker families, from one of which he sprang. His great literary work was his translation of "Faust." He was made Secretary of the Legation at St. Petersburg by President Lincoln, in 1861, and Minister to Berlin by President Hayes, in 1877.

T. Buchanan Read was also born in Chester County. When a boy he ran away from his home and trade, went to Ohio, and was successively cigar-maker, actor, and portrait painter. He settled in Philadelphia in 1846. During the remainder of his life he painted portraits with considerable success, and wrote a number of patriotic poems, of which "The Wagoner of the Alleghanies," dealing with revolutionary characters, and "Sheridan's Ride" are perhaps the most noted.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

CHAPTER XXI.

1850–1860.

Growth of Antislavery Sentiment—The Underground Railroad—The Know-Nothings—Politics—The Republican Party—The Fremont Campaign—Sale of Internal Improvements—Payment of State Debt—Political Morality grows—School Questions—Consolidation and Growth of Philadelphia.

As the Civil War approached, the political issues in Pennsylvania centred more and more around the slavery question. In the main it may be said that the State intended to be faithful to the compromise measures of 1850, which were adopted as a result of the forceful personality of Henry Clay and the vast respect felt for the statesmanship of Daniel Webster. But it became more and more evident as the years passed on that no permanent settlement was possible on this basis, and antislavery sentiment grew in extent and intensity. Especially in the southeastern counties, where the Quaker opposition to slavery had never slumbered, the determination was strong not to deny the fugitive slaves the shelter and aid humanity demanded, and not to obey that crowning infamy of compromise, the fugitive slave law. And if, as became their quiet disposition, this determination did not show itself in mobs and armed seizures, such as were common in the more militant atmosphere of Boston, it was none the less effective. Thomas Garrett, a Pennsylvania Friend, who had moved to Wilmington, was instrumental in aiding at least two thousand seven hundred blacks in their escape to freedom, was ruined in estate, and repeatedly threatened with murder. Almost every Quaker home, and they were legion, through the rich counties of Delaware and Chester, could be counted on to shield a runaway slave. But in time the more trustworthy and willing became regularly organized into a line of the underground

railroad, which quietly passed on the fugitive, night by night, till he reached safe quarters in Canada.

The lines of the underground railroad crossed the line of Mason and Dixon at points along its whole length, and, in their willingness to aid humanity, men were becoming familiar with "a higher law" than an enactment of Congress or a Constitution of the United States. Honest farmers were fined the value of a slave for giving a hungry fugitive something to eat, or liberty to sleep in a barn, and they and their neighbors did not love the southern institution more for this injustice.

A party of slave-hunters from Maryland attacked a company of colored men, among whom it was claimed a slave had taken refuge, in Lancaster County. As the negroes were armed, there seemed a prospect of a fight, which indeed soon followed, to the discomfiture of the whites. Two peaceable Friends in the neighborhood tried to prevail on both parties to avoid bloodshed, but indignantly refused to obey the summons of the sheriff to aid in capturing the fugitives. They were carried to Philadelphia on a charge of treason, were defended by Thaddeus Stevens, and acquitted.

In 1855 a North Carolinian passed through Philadelphia with his three slaves. Passmore Williamson, then an agent for the Abolition Society, informed these negroes that they became free when they entered Pennsylvania soil, and held the owner while they escaped, aided by a company of colored people. Williamson was brought into court by the slave-owner, and was consigned to prison. His case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and there argued on the ground that the slaves were not fugitives, and hence according to Pennsylvania law were free. But the court held that the freedom of the prisoner could only result from an apology to the court below to clear him of contempt, and this Williamson refused to give. He ultimately secured his release without a compromise by declaring that he could not produce the slaves, as they were beyond his control.

Such things as these educated public sentiment, but it was slow to assert itself in politics. The Democratic party

was evidently controlled by the slave-holders. The Whig party was less so, and President Taylor seemed disposed to take strong Union, if not antislavery, views. But Vice-President Fillmore, who succeeded him, was a Whig of the Webster type. The abolition candidate for governor, F. J. Lemoyne, had polled less than two thousand votes in 1847, and at the special election of the following year only forty-eight voters registered themselves in the Free Soil party, as it was then called. In 1851 there was no candidate, and three years later the Free Soilers polled only about two thousand votes, and yet the great Republican party was then about to be born.

The Whigs never recovered from the defeat of Winfield Scott by Franklin Pierce in 1852, and the field was open for a new party to contest for power with the triumphant Democrats. In the process of ripening antislavery sentiment, and moulding its political machinery, the native-American party occupied the ground.

The Democrats elected William Bigler governor, in 1851, by a majority of about eight thousand over his Whig competitor, Governor Johnston. At this election one thousand eight hundred and fifty votes were cast for the candidate of the new party, which was to have an important but brief existence.

We have seen that the Philadelphia riots of 1844 were the result of a strong feeling against Catholics. It was as yet sporadic and temporary, but early in the fifties an organization shrouded in mystery, enveloped by secret signs and passwords, began to have general political existence. If an outsider asked any questions, the inevitable answer was, "I don't know," and the popular sobriquet of the party soon became "Know-Nothing." Its watchword was a saying attributed to Washington, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." Its enemies were the Catholics, who were supposed to owe allegiance to the Pope transcending that to America; the Germans, whose pleasure-loving and socialistic habits were thought to be antagonistic to the American Sabbath and the Bible in schools, and

immigrants in general who were not informed about or loyal to American ideas. Its objects were to change naturalization laws so as to exclude foreigners from voting, to support the public schools with the Bible in them, to oppose political Romanism, and denominationalism in general when it injected itself into education or the State. By 1854 it had assumed large proportions. It gave up its secret mummery and appeared in the open, challenging opposition. Many Whigs, finding their party supports breaking away under their feet, joined it, and ministers of nearly all Protestant denominations gave it strenuous assistance.

In 1854 it was strong enough to elect, with the aid of what was left of the Whigs, James Pollock by the largest majority given to a governor since the death of the Federal party. It could not, however, prevent the election of the defeated candidate (Bigler) to the Senate the following year by the Democrats, and after this its followers left it, lured by the more vital issue of antislavery. In 1857 William F. Packer, the Democrat, polled one hundred and eighty-eight thousand votes, David Wilmot, the Free Soil candidate, one hundred and forty-six thousand, and Isaac Hazelhurst, the American, twenty-eight thousand, and this was the end of the Know-Nothing party in State politics.

The issues of American institutions, the Bible, the Sabbath, and the public school did not pass away, but under the surface, and cropping out sometimes, as in the American Protective Association of forty years later, have had work to do; but the party was defeated in the attempt to make a President and dictate a national policy.

Men were beginning to rally around the slavery question, and other matters sank into the background. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which seemed to open the way to the unlimited extension of slavery, aroused the fiercest feelings of opposition in the North. While abolitionists were generally regarded as dangerous disturbers of the peace, moderate men were beginning to see that there was no limit to the encroachments of the slave power,—that *it* must be met by an opposition as determined and as united

as itself. The Free Soil party seemed to offer the opportunity to combine, and the old Whigs, the antislavery Americans (for the party had divided on the issue in a convention held in Philadelphia in 1855), many Democrats and all abolitionists voted the Free Soil ticket. But in a little time the question of free soil became merged in the larger issue of opposition to the institution of slavery, and the Republican party, started in the Michigan peninsula, sprang into existence. In Pennsylvania it was made up of incongruous elements. Old enemies became allies. Simon Cameron came in from the Democratic camp, shrewd enough to see the opening opportunities. He had acted with his party in repealing the Missouri Compromise, but now brought his organizing ability to the service of the Republicans, and was rewarded by the senatorship in 1857. Thaddeus Stevens, a hater of all things secret and oppressive, brought in from long years of Whig and antimasonic service the power of his irresistible personality. He was a Republican by settled conviction, and had been voting with the Free Soilers and strong antislavery Whigs in Congress, where he was destined to be the leader of the Republicans through the stormy war and reconstruction periods. David Wilmot and his more conservative neighbor, Galusha A. Grow, the one soon to be Republican Senator and the other Speaker of the National House of Representatives, abandoned their Democratic associations and placed themselves in the party of their sympathizers. The old abolitionists saw the fruition of their hitherto cheerless endeavors now justified by the grasping demands of the South. Governor Johnston, who had been the candidate of the American party for Vice-President, carried with him the great body of his associates, who were willing for the present to sink their much loved issues. All of the Whigs but the most conservative, under the leadership of Andrew G. Curtin, soon to be governor, were found in the ranks. There was a general combination of all elements opposed to Democracy, which now stood in the South unequivocally for slavery and in the North for non-interference.

The first national convention of the new party met in Philadelphia in June, 1856. David Wilmot presented the platform of principles. John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton were nominated. The Democrats placed in the field James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. This veteran statesman had been minister to England during the troubles of the past four years and had thus avoided the enmities of his competitors, Pierce and Douglas. In all his previous experience in public life as Senator, Secretary of State, and foreign minister he had been distinguished by moderation, dignity, and ability. While a pro-slavery Democrat, he yet retained the respect of the moderate men of his party in the North. These circumstances and his supposed ability to carry Pennsylvania dictated his nomination. What was left of the Whigs and the branch of the Americans which was not antislavery, resuscitated Millard Fillmore. There had been somewhat of a reaction in the popular mind from the heat of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Timid men were frightened at the menace of secession by the South, and Buchanan easily won by a popular majority in the Union of a half million over Fremont and a million over Fillmore, and an electoral majority of fifty-two. Pennsylvania, after being carried by questionable means in October by the Democrats by a small majority, voted for her distinguished citizen, and slavery had scored its last Presidential victory.

It was disheartening to the Republicans, after the clear issues they had placed before the people, to be thus defeated, and yet they had accomplished great things. They had carried New England completely. They had carried New York against her hitherto honored son, Millard Fillmore. Buchanan only carried Pennsylvania by the narrow margin of one thousand votes in a total of four hundred and sixty thousand; indeed, the Republicans had carried all the North except New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and the Pacific States. The American party lingered along with a small representation in Congress, but protests against naturalization laws and the union of church

and state went for little among the more potential issues which excited men's minds.

Buchanan took with him into his cabinet Jeremiah S. Black, a distinguished jurist of western Pennsylvania, first as Attorney-General and afterwards as Secretary of State. Edwin M. Stanton was also for a time in the cabinet, and won great fame afterwards as Lincoln's Secretary of War. He was a resident of Pittsburg for a number of years prior to 1857.

In the meantime the State was wrestling with its financial problem. In 1850 it was readily paying its interest and a half million dollars of the principal. It soon increased this to a million dollars, and could have maintained this rate, but the demand for internal improvements was not yet dead. A canal up the north branch of the Susquehanna to connect with the New York system was instituted, and about a couple of a million dollars were given to this. A new railroad over the Alleghanies to replace the portage system of inclined planes and levels took nearly as much more. New tracks were necessary on the Columbia Railroad, and floods would destroy canals. Despite the warnings of governors who generally advocated the special improvement under consideration and opposed all to come, the debt remained at forty million dollars till 1856.

Governor Pollock declared the system of public improvements to be characterized by "prodigality, extravagance, and corrupt political favoritism," and again by "mismanagement and reckless expenditure." Of the Portage Railroad he said, "It is anxiously hoped that this unproductive improvement may soon cease its cormorant demands on the treasury." The main line was so conducted that its expenses equalled its receipts.

Three separate times did the Legislature offer the line for sale. But the conditions and the price, ten million dollars, were not attractive.

With the Pennsylvania Railroad in operation it seemed undesirable for the State to own the parallel competing line of railroad and canal. For a quarter of a century she had

loaded herself with debt and suffered all the inconveniences of State ownership for a meagre return. The only excuse was the development of the country and of the terminal cities, and this would now be secured. The company offered the State seven million five hundred thousand dollars of its secured bonds, and the State sold its main line from Pittsburg to Philadelphia.

A year later the Sunbury and Erie Railroad bought of the State all the public works remaining in its possession. This included the Delaware Canal, the north and west branch divisions of the Susquehanna Canal, and the Susquehanna division of the Pennsylvania Canal, and the price paid was three million five hundred thousand dollars. In this deed of sale there was a provision that if these were sold to other companies at an advance the State should have seventy-five per cent. of the profit. This brought in about two hundred and eighty thousand dollars more.

By January 1, 1859, the State had in her sinking fund for the payment of her public debt over eleven million dollars in bonds. Her debt above these now amounted to about twenty-eight million dollars.

She was thus clear of the costly, corrupting, and unsuccessful experiment on which at its inception such high hopes were founded of owning the lines of transportation. That it was a mistake to enter upon it is not certain. The great industrial development of the State was due in large measure to the early facilities for commerce. Miner, farmer, and manufacturer prospered, population and product increased at a wonderful rate. It is to these indirect results that one must point to find the justification for the enterprise. Against these must be placed the loss of three-fourths of the investment, the loss of credit, and a mercenary element introduced into public life which lowered the tone of her politicians and voters.

In order to make State ownership of transportation lines successful a higher grade of political morals than prevailed in Pennsylvania through the middle of the century is neces-

Everything revived with the sale. The next year

the debt was decreased a million dollars, and Governor Packer congratulated the Legislature on the fact that it was less than it had been since 1842.

The last of the relief notes lingered along till about 1855, when they were extinguished. So uneasy did the people become with the finances that in 1856 they demanded and secured, by a vote of about six to one, a constitutional amendment requiring an annual appropriation of at least two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by the Legislature to the sinking fund for the payment of the public debt.

A little earlier than this another amendment made all district judges elective rather than appointive. By threatened vetoes the governors succeeded in breaking up the custom of passing "omnibus bills,"—that is, bills in which various items, some of doubtful character and others unquestionably good and even necessary, were mingled together so that all must stand or fall together, a provision afterwards incorporated into the constitution.

The temperance question forced itself forward, and in 1854 a prohibitory law was submitted to the people. It was defeated by a majority of about five thousand in a total poll of three hundred and twenty-two thousand, the country districts largely supporting it. The decade is remarkable for a development of moral questions both in national and State matters, and in reading the record the impression is pretty strong that a better spirit was prevailing in popular thought and public customs than for a long time before. Politics were becoming more ethical, and a righteous life was an aid to advancement.

After the sale of the railroads and canals the problem of State government was greatly simplified. The era of large appropriations to charitable and educational institutions had not begun, and the few State-aided charities, prisons and courts of justice, and the State debt were the main sources of expenditure. There was comparatively little opportunity for corruption, and for a few years—about 1860—the government was probably as good as at any time since 1776. The Republican party in its early days was made up

of men of principle, and these for a time kept the State pure.

When Governor Pollock sent in his annual message in January, 1857, he congratulated the State on its unusual prosperity and its great harvests, and said there were no financial embarrassments or commercial distress or political or social evils in prospect. He soon had reason to change his opinions; a great financial revulsion passed over the country later in the year, in which Pennsylvania had her full share. Banks in all States suspended specie payments, long-established business houses failed, and all the symptoms of a severe disease of the commercial body existed. The protectionists were fond of charging it to the lower duties of the tariff of 1846, which drew away the specie to Europe to pay for importations, but, as in all such cases, the causes were too complex to be analyzed. It followed a period of over-trading and bank expansion. A special session of the Legislature was called in October, and aid was given to the banks which tended to mitigate the difficulty, and the crisis was not as severe or as long continued as that of twenty years earlier.

The public school system was undergoing a rapid and healthful development. The State was now covered with organized school districts, and the original opposition had nearly disappeared. Some religious bodies maintained their own denominational schools, and in and around Philadelphia the endowed and private schools had such a hold that many of the well-to-do citizens preferred to patronize them. This section never reached the condition of New England and the Northwest, where the public schools satisfied the demands of all classes. Private academies still flourished, and in the country districts these held their ground till supplanted by the normal schools.

The Department of Education was made a separate branch of the State government in 1857. The need for trained teachers was strongly felt, and in the same year the Legislature divided the State into large districts, giving to each the privilege of maintaining a normal school. Prop-

erty was secured by the action of public-spirited citizens, and loans were made by the State, secured by the assets of the schools. These loans were added to yearly by succeeding legislatures till strong and well-equipped schools arose. They sounded the death-knell of many private academies. The State also assisted in the school expenses of those who would engage to teach in the public schools. Thus State aided, the schools were able to reduce expenses, and were soon filled with young men and women, only a portion of whom had any intention of teaching. They afforded high school education of good quality to any who could afford to pay the expense, which amounted to but little more than the cost of board. The friends of the private schools, which were doomed to extinction, were opposed to them; so were many of the colleges, towards whom for a time they took an inimical position, but they grew and strengthened in public regard and became valuable agencies in education.

Two other educational factors of considerable potency started into existence about the same time. The first teachers' institute was held in Chester County in 1855, and the idea rapidly crystallized into a permanent institution. The gathering became the chief event of the year in the county town. Teachers of all grades came together, the public joined in the meetings, and were themselves educated to an interest in school matters.

Still more important was the establishment of the county superintendencies. These officials examined and gave certificates to teachers, and acted as the educational advisers and agents for their districts. Though without authority to select teachers, which was given to the local board, their influence was most stimulating and healthful. Few if any States have a better organized system than these additions gave to Pennsylvania. For much of its value and its development the credit is due to Thomas H. Burrowes and James P. Wickersham.

By 1850 the population of Philadelphia was about three hundred and sixty thousand, with nearly fifty thousand

more in the more sparsely inhabited district around, which constituted the county of Philadelphia. The "city," which was limited as in Penn's day by the Delaware and Schuylkill, Vine and South Streets, had its own government. Close around, and by this time practically a part of the real city, were separate corporations,—Southwark, the Northern Liberties, Moyamensing, Spring Garden, Kensington, North Penn, and Richmond, with West Philadelphia and Belmont soon to be added. Farther into the country were boroughs like Germantown and Manayunk, while the rest of the county was divided into thirteen townships.

This arrangement produced a complicated and inefficient government, and in 1850 the first step towards consolidation was taken, when the police forces of the city and of the various corporations were placed under one head. This was followed in 1854 by enlarging the city of Philadelphia so as to include all of the county and absorbing in one all the corporations, boroughs, and townships, with their assets and liabilities. The outlying organizations, in anticipation of an assumption of their debts, increased them some four millions of dollars within a month preceding the corporation, and started the enlarged city into existence with an obligation to its creditors of over seventeen million dollars.

This debt had largely been incurred by investments in railroads converging to the city, and was probably justified by the business rewards accruing. The coal and iron trade and the manufactories were placed in a prosperous and growing condition. Some of these factories were large establishments with a great output. But many were the creations of comparatively poor men who found independent employment in controlling the work of a single loom or lathe, and who thus became independent of employers, and in time often employers themselves. These little establishments, encouraged by cheap coal and materials, brought in a great immigration of skilled labor from Europe. The owner of his machinery would also desire a home, and more homes grew up in Philadelphia than in its larger neighbor

to the north. This development went on with accelerated rapidity, when the well-conceived laws governing building societies were passed by the Legislature. Thus, in an unexpected manner the idea of Penn that his city should be a collection of separate homes was evolved.

In foreign commerce New York had long since passed her. The Erie canal and the better channel to the sea had diverted the Western trade to the wharves of the northern city, while in Philadelphia both imports and exports had diminished more than half since 1825.

CHAPTER XXII.

1860–1870.

Curtin's Election—Political Reaction—Mustering of Troops—Pennsylvania in the War—Invasions of Pennsylvania—Battle of Gettysburg—Soldiers' Orphans Schools—Decrease of Debt—State Politics.

By 1860 Pennsylvania was fully committed to the anti-slavery cause. The Republican candidate for governor, Andrew G. Curtin, was elected in October by a majority of thirty-two thousand, and this presaged the still larger victory of November, when Abraham Lincoln received ninety thousand more votes than John C. Breckenridge, and sixty thousand more than the combined opposition. Such figures were unusual in those days, and coming from a State so conservative and so consistently Democratic as Pennsylvania, indicated the strength of the sentiment outraged by the grasping demands and the threats of the South.

Scarcely had the vote been cast and the muttered menace of disunion come back from the slave-holding States, when Pennsylvania seemed alarmed at the stand she had taken, and a strong reaction swept over the State. While Governor Packer, in his retiring message, stated that secession was clearly erroneous, yet he urged the necessity of modifying the extreme antislavery laws of the statute-book. Up to 1847 owners accompanied by slaves might pass through the State, and for a time remain there without molestation, and he intimated that it would be a good thing to return to this condition. He declared that Pennsylvania had always been faithful to its constitutional obligations to other States relating to slavery, and reviewed conditions beginning as far back as 1705. Resolutions were introduced into the Legislature declaring the duty of the State to assist in every way in the restoration of fugitives. A mass meeting in Independence Square, held December 13, 1860, attended

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by some fifty thousand people, seemed willing to go to any length in satisfying the demands of the South. The city councils requested the call, and Mayor Henry presided. The speeches were conciliatory even to the verge of obsequiousness. The resolutions pledged a careful search of the State laws and the repeal of every statute at all invading the rights of citizens of other States; pointed with pride to the effective execution of the fugitive slave law by Philadelphia; suggested that all slaves rescued by mobs should be paid for by the county where the rescue was made; and wound up with the statement that "all denunciations of slavery as existing in the United States . . . are inconsistent with the spirit of brotherhood and kindness."

This meeting represents low-water mark in public sentiment in the Quaker City. At no other time in the past would such resolutions have been possible. Pessimists would find abundant justification for their views concerning the ultimate triumph of evil in noting the apparent downward trend of public sentiment since the more healthy days from 1820 to 1830 when slavery was scouted as an evil, and opposition to its extension declared to be the duty of every son of Pennsylvania.

Her own son in the Presidential chair but reflected faithfully the prevailing feeling in offering every compromise to relieve the offended pride of the defeated South, and in this he was supported not only by Pennsylvania, but by the other Northern States. Had the South wisely seconded this burst of fraternal feeling, and demanded the terms the North was too ready to grant, they might have intrenched their institution behind an invincible bulwark of Northern law and sentiment.

But with the recollection that Major Anderson was besieged in Fort Sumter there came a change. When fraternity was spurned and secession was claimed as a right, and it was intimated that nothing was too grovelling for the mercenary middle-class Puritans of the North, the age of compromises ended. The demand on President Buchanan for a vigorous defence of national rights was responded to

by him with an assertion of Union doctrines. But he was in a false position. The large portion of his party was in rebellion, and he could do but little in the short time left to him in office. When Lincoln came in and Sumter fell, the reaction was over, and a loyal and practically unanimous response came from Pennsylvania to the President's demand for support.

Governor Curtin proved to be the right man for the situation. He was now forty-five years old, of Irish parentage, of Whig antecedents, with a good record as Governor Pollock's Secretary of the Commonwealth, an office that embraced the duties of superintendent of the public schools. The energy and ability with which he seconded the demands of the national administration and kept his State in the front ranks of supporters of the Union made him, with Andrew, of Massachusetts, and Morton, of Indiana, one of the great "war governors."

A wave of loyalty to the Union swept over the State when the South Carolinians, on April 12, fired on the United States troops in Charleston Harbor. Hesitation was at an end, and all desires to satisfy Southern demands were confined to a few, who kept in the background.

Pennsylvania was poorly prepared for hostilities. She had no trained militia, except in the cities no organized military companies, but she was rich in men and resources, and when President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand men for three months, or the emergency, and assigned fourteen regiments as her share, enough men for twenty-five immediately presented themselves. The governor retained the excess in the service of the State, foreseeing the future need, and organized the Pennsylvania Reserves, which were afterwards accepted by the national government. The first troops thrown into Washington were two thousand one hundred and sixty Pennsylvanians, who marched through a howling and hooting mob in Baltimore, with set faces and unloaded guns, reaching the capital six days after the firing on Sumter. They were thanked by Congress in a formal resolution.

The nearness of Pennsylvania to the scene of operation, her material strength, and the willingness and capacity of her governor made her more than once through the war an important prop to the policy of President Lincoln and the Union. Nor was there during the war any cessation of her disposition to fight it through. Her peace men, Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers, and others, received as much consideration as could be expected in the exciting times, though some of the former for refusing to perform military service when drafted had to undergo brief imprisonment. But as their principles were well known and their loyalty unquestioned, no severe condemnation was placed upon them. The Democrats who had not come over into the Republican party never dared to utter secession sentiments in their public platforms, and many of them were loyal supporters of the war. "Copperheads," as Southern sympathizers were popularly called, existed, but they were tremendously disliked. In the main the great resources of the State were given to Lincoln and Curtin, notwithstanding the fact that in 1863 the governor could only muster fifteen thousand majority, and a year later the President had but five thousand more. Their antagonists were not all disunionists, though strenuous efforts were at the time made to make them appear so.

In the early days of the war Pennsylvania furnished more and better equipped troops than any other State. Camp Curtin was established on the edge of Harrisburg on the day the first troops entered Washington. Later it was taken in charge by the national government, and was one of the great distributing and convalescent centres for soldiers throughout the war and also a depot of military supplies.

In all, Pennsylvania furnished three hufidred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and eighty-four men to the service of the government and an additional twenty-five thousand militia who came out in an emergency. They did not all join voluntarily. Some were urged by extravagant bounties which localities would offer to fill up their quota, and this competition for men became in time a costly evil.

Some were drafted, and went unwillingly or bought substitutes. But the great number of them were actuated by a spirit of love for the Union, and of hatred for slavery and a determination to end it.

Three times was the soil of Pennsylvania invaded by the Confederates. In October, 1862, a body of cavalry under General Stuart crossed the Potomac and penetrated to Chambersburg, plundering as it went. By the time troops were collected to repel the raid the enemy had recrossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry.

It was during the darkest time of the conflict, in June and July, 1863, that Pennsylvania was again invaded and the great battle of the war fought within her borders. Fresh from the victory of Chancellorsville, proud of its commander, and splendidly disciplined and equipped, the Southern army marched north to throw upon Pennsylvania the burden of the war, peradventure to take a great Northern city, and with Washington in its grasp dictate terms of peace.

Up through the Cumberland Valley they proceeded towards Harrisburg, while a division was detached to take possession of the bridge over the Susquehanna at Columbia, tear up the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and march up the eastern bank of the river. Only part of this programme was carried out. York was seized and laid under contribution, but by the time the river was reached a regiment of militia had burned the Columbia bridge, and the Confederates rejoined the main army.

That army, with Lee at its head, seventy thousand men, reached Chambersburg. Advance bodies had pressed down the valley, and had come within a few miles of Harrisburg. Governor Curtin issued a proclamation calling upon the militia to gather at the capital.

In the mean time Meade had superseded Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, had turned northward, and on the last day of June reached the Pennsylvania line, making his head-quarters at Taneytown, thirteen miles south

GEN. GEORGE G. MEADE.

of Gettysburg. Lee drew in his scattered detachments, and marched southeastward to meet the Northern army.

The advance-guards met north and west of Gettysburg on July 1. Reynolds, the Union general commanding, was killed. His troops were defeated and driven through the town, making a stand on a high hill to the south, which had been used for a cemetery, and on which Reynolds, seeing its strategic value, had ordered breastworks thrown up. Hancock was sent forward to take the place of the fallen general.

Meade was urged to concentrate his troops at this point, and, giving up a chosen battle-ground near Taneytown, advanced with his whole army, reaching the field on the evening of July 1. Lee had also brought in his army except the cavalry under Stuart, who were to the east of the Union army, and Pickett's corps, which had not come from Maryland. When all gathered together, the two armies were nearly equal in size, about ninety thousand men each.

Gettysburg is in a beautiful and fertile valley. On the western side this valley is bounded by a low wooded ridge running north and south, and at its nearest point about half a mile from the town. Here stand the buildings of the Lutheran Seminary, and these give the name to Seminary Ridge. The valley is about a mile wide. On the eastern side three miles south of Gettysburg is Round Top, a wooded conical hill, and just north is Little Round Top, mostly bare of trees and covered with huge boulders. From this northward the eastern ridge, which bears the name of Cemetery Ridge, is of less elevation, but at its northern end, where the cemetery is, it again rises and turns abruptly to the eastward. The Union army occupied at the beginning of the second day of the battle Cemetery Ridge, presenting a convex front to the enemy. The Confederates lined Seminary Ridge from opposite Round Top to the town, thence through the streets and extending southeastwardly faced their opponents in a concave line nearly eight miles long. The Northern troops had thus the advantage for purposes of defence of an inside position, where troops could be

easily thrown from one place to another, to strengthen weak points or resist sudden attacks. The Southern army in the valley back of Seminary Ridge could carry on their manœuvres perfectly screened from Union eyes and guns.

The morning of July 2 was spent in strengthening defences and arranging battle lines. At about four o'clock an artillery duel began, and under cover of the fire brigade after brigade of Southern troops was thrown at one point after another of the Northern defences. Around Little Round Top bloody work was done. Almost taken again and again, it was saved at the last moment by timely reenforcements. Sickles's division in advance of the Union line was driven in. Around on the extreme east ground occupied by the Northern troops was taken and held by the Confederates, and in the evening the soldiers of both armies slaked their thirst at the same spring.

The first day's fight resulted in Southern victory. On the second day what little was gained was also on their side. The morning of July 3 dawned upon troubled generals and tired soldiers, feeling that the decisive day had come. Pickett's and Stuart's men had arrived the night before, and upon these the brunt of the third day's work was to fall.

The Union line in the morning recovered the lost ground of the night at their right, and then followed an ominous stillness. After noon the artillery duel from over two hundred guns opened the greatest display of its kind ever witnessed on the American continent. For two hours across the plain which separated the two armies every known form of missile passed like a hurricane. The Union fire slackened, and the Southern generals, supposing their guns were silenced, prepared for the final act. From Little Round Top Warren signalled the news to Meade that a great charge was forming in front of the Southern line. From out the smoke emerged Pickett's Confederates. Across a mile of plain, their ranks mowed down by the Federal fire which now was concentrated upon them, straight [redacted]rds a cluster of trees where Hancock's men were

grouped ready to receive them, they marched with the steadiness of veteran troops. They rushed up the slope into "the bloody angle" of the stone wall which fronted the Union line. They drove the infantry from the defences and the gunners from the guns and planted their banners within the line of their opponents. But they were now too few to follow up their advantage, and, raked on both sides by opposing fires, all that was left of them slowly retreated.

It was the turning-point of the war. The next day Grant took Vicksburg, and after that the fortunes of the Confederacy waned. Lee led his shattered troops back across the Potomac, his adversaries too exhausted seriously to interpose any obstacles. But he left six thousand five hundred dead soldiers on the battle-field, and his losses amounted to nearly forty thousand men. The Union losses were less, for they fought behind defences, but twenty-five thousand were killed, wounded, and missing.

Pennsylvania contributed among others to the battle Generals Meade, Reynolds, Hancock, and Geary; five hundred and thirty-four of her citizens lie interred in the National Cemetery, and many others were borne away by their friends. The national government has assumed the care of the battle-field and opened avenues along the lines once occupied by the armies, while the organizations of the old soldiers who served there have contributed over four hundred monuments to mark their various positions on the field or the sites of the death of officers and comrades. No important battle in history is so securely preserved in every detail as Gettysburg.

Again a year later Pennsylvania was invaded by the Confederates. Whether in retaliation, as they claimed, for the losses in the Shenandoah Valley, or as others thought for supposed sympathy with the raid of John Brown, the town of Chambersburg, in Franklin County, was marked out for destruction. Detachments numbering about ten thousand men crossed the Potomac at three different points, finding little to oppose them. They occupied the town and demanded five hundred thousand dollars as a ransom. As

this was not paid the work of firing began. The doors of private houses were beaten in, valuables stolen, oil poured over the furniture and the match applied. In ten minutes the whole town was in flames, three million dollars of property was swept away, and three thousand people left homeless and in many cases penniless. To estimate the damages to loyal men in the border counties from the three Southern raids and the marchings of both armies a commission was appointed by the State, and these claims were paid. Individually small, they amounted in the aggregate to about three million five hundred thousand dollars. This amount was claimed by the State from the federal government.

Scarcely was the war over when the idea, stimulated by Governor Curtin, that the orphans of the soldiers were to be a public charge, took possession of the popular mind. At first they were quartered at the public expense in existing schools, but later special schools were established, where clothing, education, and maintenance were furnished free. Pennsylvania led the way in this movement, and her munificence was imitated but not equalled by any other State.

The finances of the State by the beginning of the war were in such a condition that even the extraordinary expenses caused no embarrassment. Loans for these were easily secured. By the end of 1866 the debt had been reduced in the aggregate over five million dollars, notwithstanding the fact that about as much had been borrowed. During the six years of the administration of Governor Geary, who followed Curtin, ten millions more were paid. It was a time of abounding prosperity, and the objects of State taxation were plentiful and rich. The tax on real estate, placed originally to pay off the debt incurred by internal improvements, was repealed at the close of the war, leaving this resource for local purposes.

Governor Geary had served with distinction through the Mexican and Civil Wars, and as governor of Kansas in the troubled times preceding admission to the Union. In 1872 another governor of military reputation, John F. Hartranft, succeeded him for two terms. He was followed by Henry

M. Hoyt. These were all Republicans, and elected by good majorities. The State was now as reliably Republican as it had been Democratic before the war. But in 1882 the growing discontent with Republican leadership led to an Independent Republican movement, which made Robert E. Pattison, the Democratic candidate, governor by a plurality of forty thousand votes. The protection issue, with which the prosperity of Pennsylvania seemed to be inseparably connected as a great manufacturing State, was now the Republican battle-cry, and that with memories of war and reconstruction made a revolution necessary to carry a Democratic ticket.

The dominating personality in State politics was now Simon Cameron. He had been elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate in 1845, succeeding James Buchanan, and again as a Republican in 1857 by the aid of three Democratic votes. His personal influence made him the candidate of his State in the Chicago convention of 1860, which nominated Abraham Lincoln. In pursuance of the policy of the President to appoint his rivals to places in the Cabinet, Cameron became Secretary of War. When he was driven into retirement with a vote of censure from the House of Representatives (which vote was afterwards repealed), the President appointed him minister to Russia. In the mean time his party had made him a candidate for Senator, to succeed David Wilmot. The Democrats had one majority in the joint Legislature, but Cameron claimed that his influence would command, as in previous elections, enough opposition votes to elect him, and that he was the only Republican who could thus be chosen. It is not improbable that such an arrangement had been made, but when the time came so solicitous was the care taken by Democratic leaders and so dire were the threats uttered against traitors that none dare leave the fold, and Charles R. Buckalew was elected by one majority. Pennsylvania now had two Democratic Senators, for Edgar Cowan, who had been elected in 1861, was now also a Democrat. Cameron succeeded him in 1867, and held the post for ten years,

when he resigned, with the assurance that his son, J. Donald Cameron, who for a short time had been Grant's Secretary of War, should succeed him. He in his turn retained the Senatorship for twenty years, and then declined re-election. Simon Cameron was a skilful manager of men and of party machinery, and during his life, through good report and evil report, never failed to command the fealty of the Republicans of Pennsylvania to such an extent as to win for himself and his friends almost any honors he desired.

In 1880 the distinguished Pennsylvanian, General Winfield S. Hancock, became the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency of the United States.

GEN. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1870–1882.

The Constitution of 1873—The Panic of 1873—State Finances—Strikes and Riots—The Philadelphia Centennial—Conclusion.

THE Constitution of 1776 had been the product of the work of extreme Republicans, and had granted great powers to the people. By 1790 a conservative reaction had set in, and the constitution of that year had made the governor the depository of vast responsibilities. The reverse swing of the pendulum had brought about the moderate Constitution of 1838, which restored popular choice and accountability. The process continued, and an amendment to this instrument in 1850 made judges elective; another, in 1871, performed the same service for the State treasurership.

The evils which now existed seemed to lie in the Legislature. It was generally believed that many members of that body were corrupt, and that the chances and materials for corruption should be diminished: governor and people both seemed safer than the elected representatives.

A Secretary of the Commonwealth had said: "It is notorious that the legislators are bought and sold in the unseemly and disgraceful scramble which occurs at Harrisburg in the annual election for State Treasurer."

A vast evil had also grown up in what was called special legislation. Much of this was meritorious. The demands of localities were different, and special cases were always likely to appear needing special treatment. But the opportunity for "log-rolling" and general corruption in connection with local bills made all simple inconveniences sink into the background in comparison with the temptation to a moral degradation of the legislative body.

So there was a general popular demand for a new constitution. In June, 1871, the Legislature voted to submit the

question to the people. In the fall of the same year they voted five to one to call a convention. In the following April the Legislature made the necessary provisions, and delegates were elected in November. In November, 1872, the convention met in Harrisburg, and adjourned to Philadelphia, electing William M. Meredith president. Its work was ratified by a vote of two hundred and fifty-three thousand for to one hundred and nine thousand against in December, 1873, and went into effect on the first day of January, 1874.

Pennsylvania has no reason to be ashamed of that convention. A system of minority representation, fairly drawn up by ex-Senator Buckalew, gave the Republicans a slight preponderance. Probably no abler body of men ever met in deliberation upon an important State matter within her borders. They were swayed as little by partisanship or selfishness as reasonable people have a right to expect in such cases. The people, to a large extent, set aside the smaller politicians they had been sending to the Legislature and selected serious, thoughtful, and scholarly men. The constitution adopted was one of the best possessed by any State.

To guard against legislative corruption the State Treasurer was made elective by the people; the number of legislators was increased to fifty Senators and two hundred Representatives, on the ground that large numbers were harder to purchase; sessions were made biennial instead of annual as tending to break up the continuous business of lobbyists and managing politicians, and as being sufficient for all necessary legislative purposes; and all special legislation was absolutely prohibited. The Legislature was hedged around by a great mass of prohibitions, while the penalties for bribery were severe and comprehensive.

The office of lieutenant-governor was created, and he, with three other officials, constituted a pardon board, without whose recommendation no pardon could be issued by the governor. The governor was allowed to veto special items in appropriation bills.

A system of minority representation in the case of magistrates and certain other officers was provided. The annual State elections were changed to conform to the date of the national elections, and a system of ballots was devised to prevent cheating.

In the matter of education the antiquated provisions of past constitutions were done away and ample provisions inserted requiring the provision and maintenance of an efficient system of public schools and the annual appropriation of at least one million dollars by the State; prohibiting granting any money to sectarian schools; and making women eligible to school positions.

The new developments of railroads and canals and other corporations required a mass of new legislation, the objects of which were to protect property owners, stockholders, and patrons, and to maintain their proper subservience to the State which created them.

It was premature to secure the adoption of clauses regulating appointments to civil offices by unpartisan competitive tests, or to secure the best results in balloting by secrecy and mechanical device. But nothing better was in that day possible, and the constitution has stood in the way of many a nefarious scheme.

After the close of Geary's administration the debt of the State was reduced more slowly for a few years, and then remained between thirteen and fourteen millions during the rest of the decade. Governor Hartranft advised a reduction of taxation, and the Legislature assented in 1873. Taxes were taken off which had been levied on the gross receipts of railroads, on the net earnings of corporations, and on cattle and farming implements. Thus was revenue reduced over a million of dollars. The new constitution about the same time required an increased appropriation to schools. But quite as influential as either was the commercial crisis of 1873, which seriously reduced the debt-paying power of the Commonwealth. Overproduction was usually assigned as the cause of this misfortune. It began with the failure of the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co. in Phila-

delphia. This house had been considered impregnable, and during the war had rendered important services to the government. The difficulties spread until they assumed national proportions. The symptoms accompanying the former crises of 1837 and 1857 were renewed, except that now the national banks, well entrenched behind wise general laws, stood the assault better than the weaker and more dependent institutions of the earlier periods. Commercial houses failed, factories closed, wages were reduced, all classes suffered. Till about 1879 the dark times lasted, and recovery was slow.

As often happened, serious labor troubles followed the crisis. The Molly Maguires was an old Irish organization, which brought its name and methods into the Pennsylvania coal regions. Where there was a mine superintendent or boss objectionable to its members, he was overwhelmed with rudely drawn pictures of coffins and pistols, and serious warnings threatening his life. If these did not drive him from his post, or cause him to abate his objectionable habits, a detail of men from a neighboring branch, to whom he was entirely unknown, and who were often unacquainted with his offence, was appointed to murder him. This was generally successfully accomplished under circumstances which rendered detection almost impossible.

These outrages began during the war, and showed themselves among other ways by resistance to the draft. Loyal men in Carbon and Schuylkill counties were stricken down for their advocacy of the claims of the Union, and a mob of miners broke into the Mauch Chunk jail and released the prisoners. A succession of crimes followed, the order went into politics, and in some instances succeeded in electing the officers of justice, which made punishment for their crimes impossible. The coal regions were terrorized, and murders followed each other in rapid succession.

In 1873, Franklin B. Gowen, the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, undertook the process of reformation. A successful private police had been organized, the objects of terror and hate to the out-

laws. Detectives joined the order and ferreted out its secrets. A young Irishman named McParlan spent three years in establishing himself among them. A great strike followed the financial failure of 1873, and the "Mollies" were supreme. Courted by demagogues, with what they deemed an impregnable organization, they proceeded to take vengeance on the agents and property of operators. But gradually item after item of evidence was being lodged with trusted officials; arrests were made, and in 1876 about a score of the order suffered the penalties of the law by the sentence of Judge Pershing in Pottsville. The reign of crime was over.

Many strikes against reduction of wages occurred throughout Pennsylvania during these years of business unrest. In 1877 the railroad employees through the State refused to work. Travel was suspended, and neither freight nor passenger trains were moved for some days. When the attempt was made by the companies the new trainmen were driven from their posts and the cars wrecked. Soldiers were sent to Pittsburg, and an unwise collision with the rioters, in which several were killed, intensified the feeling. The railroad station was burned to the ground, and for days the town was in possession of the inflamed populace.

In Reading the great railroad bridge over the Schuylkill was burned. In Philadelphia, by wise police action and the judicious absence of militia, a conflict was averted. The miners in the coal regions struck in sympathy, and Federal troops were called out. Ultimately, order was restored, though fifty civilians, mostly entirely innocent of wrong, and five soldiers were killed, a million dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and the reduction of wages on a falling market was not averted.

The centennial year was commemorated in Philadelphia by an international exposition, the management of which reflected great credit upon the public-spirited men who gave their abilities to its direction. The State of Pennsylvania appropriated one million dollars to the enterprise, the city of Philadelphia one million five hundred thousand

dollars. Over two million dollars were subscribed to the stock by private individuals, about twenty per cent. of which was returned to them on closing the accounts. The United States Government grudgingly appropriated one million five hundred thousand dollars, with the condition that it should be repaid in advance of any percentage being given to the stockholders, a condition which was fully complied with. Admission receipts brought in nearly four million dollars and various concessions and royalties a million more.

The Nation, State, and City each appointed commissions to aid the enterprise. It soon became evident that wise provisions had been made for all development and demands for space for exhibits from home and foreign houses were eagerly made. Beautiful grounds were transferred by the commissioners of Fairmount Park and great halls were erected upon them. The different States of the Union and foreign governments built their special head-quarters in varied architecture. The world was ransacked for all that was novel and unique in natural productions or customs or manufactures. Art received greater recognition than ever before in America, and interior decoration and architecture felt an impetus in many municipalities and homes which was never lost. The vast resources of the country were displayed for the first time to many a jealous foreigner and many a sceptical citizen. The contrasts with a century before in material development, comforts of living, and facilities for work were striking indeed, and were vividly brought before the attention of every one. The exposition was an epoch in the life of the nation and of the city.

Let us briefly review the political development of the State as a whole. If there are dark features in it, it is well to recognize them, otherwise the impression is given that all was good in the past, and the imperfections of the present stand out as discouraging facts, indicating a decaying civilization. As a matter of fact, he who reads the original papers finds a continually improving political

condition, with ever-rising ethical standards during the whole life of the State. Selfishness and mercenary aims were more in control one hundred years ago than to-day, and the people when fully informed more strongly demand righteousness than ever before.

When Pennsylvania became a State she found besides various smaller sections three great and seemingly incongruous elements,—the English of the southeast, with a century of political control behind them, but withal inclined to peace, with a religion somewhat mystical and introspective; the Germans of the central belt, non-political and conservative, satisfied with quiet conditions and native habits, and a religion which addressed itself to their spiritual rather than temporal conditions; and the aggressive Presbyterians of the west, who despised the religion and consequent habits of both the others and took full place in the politics of the day, whose religion went into their politics and their politics into their religion. A more heterogeneous collection of people did not exist in any of the provinces along the coast.

Nor did these differences disappear in the early life of the State. It was no longer Quaker against Presbyterian, but it was the East against the West, Federalism and Whigism against Democracy, with the Germans as a buffer and balance-wheel. The long line of German governors, reaching, with one term of three years excepted, from 1808 to 1838, shows the courtship paid by both parties to this great body of voters. Every one of these governors could speak two languages, and preferred his mother tongue, and every one was the son of a Palatine immigrant of pre-revolutionary days. Not only was this true of the governors elected, but also in the main of the candidates of the defeated parties. The Democracy of the West was extreme. It resisted Federal tax collectors, objected to the common law as an English and aristocratic institution, advocated the lowering of all official salaries to the standard of the laboring man, and was a strong friend of French as opposed to English interests.

But population was migratory—common ideas fused the

discordant elements. Americanism triumphed over race and religion, and every decade wrought its transformation into homogeneity and sympathy.

And now a new factor which severed Pennsylvania from other States more strongly than anything racial, but which drew its population together and threw down barriers, came into the political life of the Commonwealth—the coal and iron of its hills—the industrial development of the State. Pennsylvania strove hard to retain the Western trade threatened by the Erie Canal. Her roads had been the highways not only for her own children, but also for those of New England, New York, and New Jersey on their weary travel to Pittsburg and down the Ohio. But she had the great barrier of the mountains athwart the path, and she burdened herself with forty million dollars of debt to construct her longitudinal passage-way of canal, portage railway, canal again, and horse railway. Then when the financial crisis of 1837 came there was no money to pay interest, and Pennsylvania's shame was widely heralded by Sidney Smith's brilliant letters against "free and enlightened republics," and Wordsworth's more gentle but not less bitter verses. They were premature. Every dollar was paid, with interest on the delayed interest. Not only so, but when her people found that the State ownership was corrupting her public men she demanded the sale at a great sacrifice of the line of public works, and cleared up the task with credit and promptitude.

But the development of her own resources demanded great combinations of capital. Coal could not be mined and transported to meet the demand, the iron could not be dug up, smelted, and manufactured by a series of individual operators. Here Pennsylvania differed from many other States whose mills or farms or small enterprises were personal concerns. These corporations came to the Legislature for endorsement and authority, and this body thus became the dispenser of a vast patronage in financial privileges. It was impossible that this system should exist without abuse, and scarcely had the good people extinguished the

State ownership of transportation lines, and settled down into comparative simplicity and correctness of government when the huge demand for coal and iron and the consequent perversion of legislation to private ends came upon the Commonwealth. It made her rich beyond her dreams, and her debt melted away like snow in the springtime. Even the great expenses of the war did not stop the debt-paying. But the tares grew with the wheat, and again the people stepped in with the new constitution of 1873, which limited legislative powers and stopped special legislation.

In the mean time another difficulty had arisen. The people of Pennsylvania had come to believe, properly or improperly it is unnecessary now to discuss, that their prosperity was inextricably bound up with a national high tariff law. Again and again they had seen or thought they saw mills and mines closed, and idle workmen standing on the streets, and low prices of farm produce coincident with an extension of free-trade ideas. They had seen industry and good wages and money-making coincident with the return of a tariff. It was not, therefore, a matter of wonder that they were brought to the belief by the logic of circumstances that coincidence was also consequence, and that the prosperity of the citizens was directly due to the policy of protection. This was a mercenary conclusion, but it is of the same sort which has decided all our economic questions since we were a nation. Had the parties not separated on this line, it would not perhaps have seriously affected the question of good government. But when, some years after the war, it became evident that the cause of the tariff was bound up necessarily with one of the great political parties, it practically extinguished the other in Pennsylvania. A majority of two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand is practical unanimity. The advantages of an effective opposition were lost, and the dominant party, secure in power, with the instinct for organization developed by the great business enterprise of which the State was full, formed its machinery, chose its engineer, held up the cry of

free trade and hard times at each election, and placed its candidates, good and bad, in power as it chose. Thus arose and was perpetuated the dominant political machinery.

It was not a racial question. East, Middle, and West were alike. The same conditions have surrounded them all, and throwing aside the very diverse qualities of a century ago. they have seen brought to the common standard of Pennsylvanians. The result would have been the same had the settlers of Massachusetts or Virginia or Louisiana found their way to Pennsylvania instead of their own State. The strength or weakness, whichever you choose to consider it, of the hills, would have produced such conditions of masses of ignorant laborers and an overbalanced political scales as to give unquestioned supremacy with its resulting disadvantages to one party.

Is this determinism? Did the mineral resources of the State inevitably demand a particular development? They undoubtedly made it highly probable, and in one sense almost necessary. But they were hardly so potent as to be out of reach of guidance. The main drift was uncontrollable, but the channel it would take was partially directed. In this or any other State, a strong enough moral influence working in harmony with natural conditions, not against them, changes the whole development from unhealthful into healthful conditions. The statesman is he who sees beneath the surface, and aids in guiding the people along the natural lines of progress, keeping the moral atmosphere clean and inspiring. The demagogue follows these natural lines, but is unscrupulous as to means. The foolish reformer sets himself against the predetermined tendency, thinking that the abuses are necessarily bound up with it, is swept aside, considers himself a worthy martyr, and the times hopelessly bad.

The original races which peopled the province have therefore ceased to exert any strong determining influence upon its political development. They to some extent retain their social customs and their religion, but politics are but little *affected by* these.

Nor can we trace in Pennsylvania any peculiar permanent result from the principles which distinguished the province. The ideal democracy of Penn is no more the property of his State than of others. When she entered the Union she threw all her cherished theories, civil and religious liberty, peace, kindness to natives, penal enlightenment, into the common treasury, and drew therefrom such as she needed of the contributions of others. We are no longer Pennsylvanians in ideas of government, but Americans.

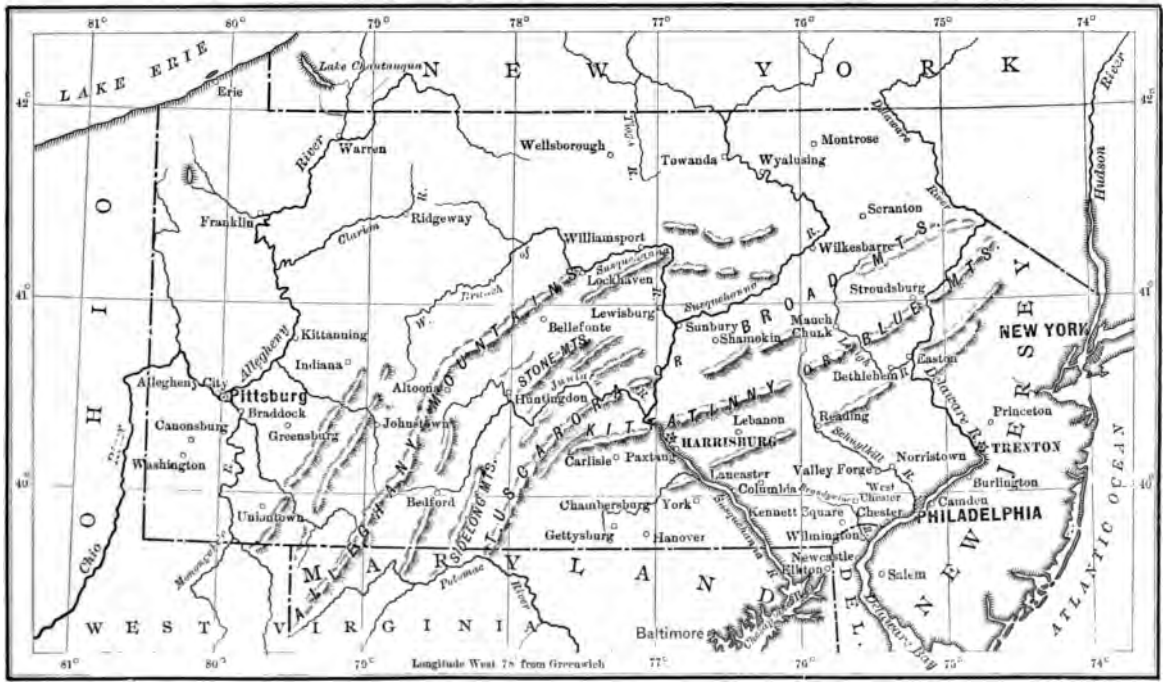
The two centuries which have passed over Pennsylvania since the "Welcome" sailed up the Delaware have been years of remarkable development. How far and how long the impress of the founder has guided that development is a problem impossible to solve. His enthusiasm for civil liberty permeated a congenial society which bore it to a success which seems unlimited. This liberty is now the assumption which lies at the basis of our theories and of our every-day practice. So his ideas of perfect religious liberty have not developed, for as he enunciated them they were complete and finished. But we have found them entirely practical and in harmony with the best religion and the best statecraft. They also are a part of our fundamental conceptions of government and society. We have not yet been able fully to adopt his policy of peace,—not so much because we deny it to be the true and beneficial policy for States as for individuals, but because we usually cannot see when the danger-point approaches how to conform our actions to its dictates. In this respect the development has not been as rapid as in the recognition of the value of liberty. Nevertheless there is development, and few doubt that wars between nations will soon be deemed as repugnant to humanity as combats between individuals. Nor have we yet learned that justice to colored races is the expedient as well as the moral means of intercourse. In the face of greed for land and gold, absolute equity to Indian and African and Asiatic has gone to the wall, and the nation has lost honor and advantage. Here again we are learning the lesson, and each year makes the rights of a weaker race

safer in our hands. We are also striving towards his position in the matter of oaths and of treatment of criminals, and many signs show in our judicial procedure an approximation to the principles of Penn.

The little school which he chartered in Philadelphia was the forerunner of a great development. He could hardly anticipate the collection of educational systems which would embrace university, college, secondary school, primary school, and kindergarten, and give every boy and girl of the State an opportunity for at least the elements of education, and in the great majority of cases much more. He would hardly have guessed that in two centuries there would be in his State twenty-five institutions for higher learning and nearly twenty thousand for lower, at which six hundred and fifty thousand youths would be in daily attendance.

Though he had a very high conception of the possible growth of his province, it may be doubted whether, looking ahead two hundred years, he would have imagined within it over five million people, or one million in "the greene country town" he intended to establish. He was a man who did not in his zeal for liberty and peace scorn the more sordid rewards of industrialism, but he would hardly have anticipated over thirteen millions of improved acres yielding annually produce worth ten times as many dollars; nor manufacturing establishments employing five hundred million dollars as capital, paying one hundred and thirty-five million dollars annually in wages, and producing goods worth seven hundred and forty-five million dollars; nor could he have conceived the facilities for work and intercourse made possible by steam and electricity.

He would rejoice in the reputation of his town in medicine and other applied sciences; in the miles of comfortable homes which keep its people happy and contented; in its ready response to the call of suffering, whether at home or abroad; in its Sabbath decorum and general good order. He would, perhaps, rebuke its extravagance in living, its inequality of possession and opportunity; he would cer*tainly* find much of evil in its political standards and



LAKE ERIE
Erie
Lake Chautauqua
NEW YORK
OHIO
Warren
Wellsborough
Towanda
Wyalusing
Montrose
Scranton
Franklin
Ridgeway
Williamsport
Wilkesbarre
Lockhaven
Stroudsburg
Lewisburg
Bellefonte
Sunbury
Shamokin
Mauch Chunk
Kittanning
Indiana
Allegheny City
Pittsburg
Braddock
Greensburg
Canonsburg
Washington
Altoona
Johnstown
Huntingdon
Bethlehem
Easton
NEW YORK
Princeton
TRENTON
Reading
Lebanon
HARRISBURG
Carlisle
Paxtang
Norristown
Burlington
Lancaster
Columbia
Valley Forge
West Chester
Camden
PHILADELPHIA
Kennett Square
Chester
Wilmington
Newcastle
Elkton
Salem
Uniontown
Bedford
Chambersburg
York
Gettysburg
Hanover
Baltimore
MARYLAND
DEL.
WEST VIRGINIA
NEW JERSEY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hudson River
Delaware River
Susquehanna R.
Tioga R.
Clarion R.
Allegheny River
Monongahela R.
Potomac River
Chio River
Juniata R.
Schuylkill R.
Delaware Bay
Longitude West 78 from Greenwich

customs, and in the neglect by many of their political duties; he would have demanded absolute righteousness without regard to results, and have declared modern utilitarian criteria and fear of loss for conscience's sake to be incompatible with good government and the maintenance of rights. He who had spent months in prison with triumphant results could hardly have comprehended the easy philosophy of a less earnest age. Yet had he known, as we do, all the lights and shades of its history, he could have seen a continual approximation to his own exalted standard of government and society.

APPENDIX.

Governors of Pennsylvania for Two Hundred Years.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS.

William Penn, Proprietor.....1681-1693
William Markham, Deputy Governor.....June, 1681-Oct. 24, 1682
William Penn, Proprietor and Governor.....Oct. 24, 1682-June, 1684
The Council (Thomas Lloyd, President).....Aug., 1684-Dec., 1686
1. Thomas Lloyd.
2. Robert Turner.
3. Arthur Cook.
4. John Simcock.
5. John Eckley.
} Five Commissioners appointed by Penn.....Dec., 1686-Dec., 1688
Captain John Blackwell, Deputy Governor.....Dec., 1688-Jan., 1690
The Council (Thomas Lloyd, President).....Jan., 1690-March, 1691
Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Province
William Markham, Deputy Governor of lower Counties
} March, 1691-April 26, 1693
Under the Crown of England.....1693-1694
Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, Governor.....Apr. 26, 1693-Mar., 1695
William Markham, Deputy Governor.....Apr. 27, 1693-Mar., 1695
William Penn, Proprietor.....1695-1718
William Markham, Deputy Governor.....March, 1695-Dec., 1699
1. Dr. John Goodson.
2. Samuel Carpenter.
} Deputies to Deputy Governor Markham.....March, 1695
William Penn, Proprietor and Governor.....Dec., 1699-Nov., 1701
Andrew Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor (died)...Nov. 14, 1701-Apr., 1703
The Council (Edward Shippen, President).....Apr., 1703-Feb., 1704
John Evans, Lieutenant-Governor.....Feb., 1704-Feb., 1709
Charles Gookin, Lieutenant-Governor.....Feb., 1709-May, 1717
Sir William Keith, Lieutenant-Governor.....May, 1717-July, 1718
John Penn, Richard Penn, and Thomas Penn, Proprietors.....1718-1746
Sir William Keith, Lieutenant-Governor.....July, 1718-July, 1726
Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor.....July, 1726-Aug., 1736
The Council (James Logan, President).....Aug., 1736-Aug., 1738
George Thomas, Lieutenant-Governor.....Aug., 1738-May, 1746
(John Penn died 1746; Richard Penn died 1771, when John Penn, his son, together with Thomas Penn, became sole Proprietors).....1746-1776
George Thomas, Lieutenant-Governor.....May, 1746-May, 1747
The Council (Anthony Palmer, President).....May, 1746-Nov., 1748

James Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor.....Nov., 1748-Oct., 1754
Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor.....Oct., 1754-Aug., 1756
William Denny, Lieutenant-Governor.....Aug., 1756-Oct., 1759
James Hamilton, Lieutenant-G .ernor.. .....Oct., 1759-Nov., 1763
John Penn (son of Richard Penn), Lieutenant-Governor .....Nov., 1763-Apr., 1771
The Council (James Hamilton, President).....Apr., 1771-Oct., 1771
Richard Penn (brother of John Penn), Lieutenant-Governor .....Oct., 1771-Aug., 1773
John Penn, Lieutenant-Governor.....Aug., 1773-July, 1776

PRESIDENTS OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Thomas Wharton, Jr.....1777-1778
Joseph Reed.....1778-1781
William Moore.....1781-1782
John Dickinson.....1782-1785
Benjamin Franklin.....1785-1788
Thomas Mifflin.....1788-1790

GOVERNORS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Under the Constitution of 1790.

Thomas Mifflin.....Dec. 21, 1790-Dec. 17, 1799
Thomas McKean.....Dec. 17, 1799-Dec. 20, 1808
Simon Snyder.....Dec. 20, 1808-Dec. 16, 1817
William Findlay.....Dec. 16, 1817-Dec. 19, 1820
Joseph Hiester.....Dec. 19, 1820-Dec. 16, 1823
John Andrew Shulze.....Dec. 16, 1823-Dec. 15, 1829
George Wolf.....Dec. 15, 1829-Dec. 15, 1835
Joseph Ritner.....Dec. 15, 1835-Jan. 15, 1839

Under the Constitution of 1838.

David Rittenhouse Porter.....Jan. 15, 1839-Jan. 21, 1845
Francis Rawn Shunk.....Jan. 21, 1845-July 9, 1848
(Resigned July 9, 1848.)
William Freame Johnston..... .....July 26, 1848-Jan. 20, 1852
(Vice Shunk, resigned.)
William Bigler.....Jan. 20, 1852-Jan. 16, 1855
James Pollock.....Jan. 16, 1855-Jan. 19, 1858
William Fisher Packer.....Jan. 19, 1858-Jan. 15, 1861
Andrew Gregg Curtin.....Jan. 15, 1861-Jan. 15, 1867
John White Geary.....Jan. 15, 1867-Jan. 21, 1873

Under the Constitution of 1873.

John Frederick Hartranft.....Jan. 21, 1873-Jan. 18, 1879
Henry Martyn Hoyt.....Jan. 18, 1879-Jan. 16, 1883
Robert Emory Pattison.....Jan. 16, 1883-Jan. 18, 1887

Principal Officers of the United States Government from Pennsylvania, 1783 to 1898.

PRESIDENTS.

Prior to the Adoption of the Constitution.

	Date of appointment.
Thomas Mifflin	Nov. 3, 1788
Arthur St. Clair	Feb. 2, 1787

PRESIDENT.

Under the Constitution.

	Term of Service.
James Buchanan	1857-1861

VICE-PRESIDENT.

George M. Dallas	1845-1849

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Timothy Pickering	1795-1800
James Buchanan	1845-1849
Jeremiah S. Black	1860-1861

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY

Albert Gallatin	1801-1814
Alexander J. Dallas	1814-1817
Richard Rush	1825-1829
Samuel D. Ingham	1829-1831
William J. Duane	1833
Walter Forward	1841-1843
William M. Meredith	1849-1850

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Timothy Pickering	1795
James M. Porter	1843-1844
William Wilkins	1844-1845
Simon Cameron	1861-1862
Edwin M. Stanton	1862-1868
J. Donald Cameron	1876-1877

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

William Jones	1813-1814
Adolph E. Borie	1869

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

	Term of Service.
T. M. T. McKennan	1850

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

Timothy Pickering	1791-1795
James Campbell	1853-1857
John Wanamaker	1889-1893
Charles Emory Smith	1898 ——

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

William Bradford	1794-1795
Richard Rush	1814-1817
Henry D. Gilpin	1840-1841
Jeremiah S. Black	1857-1860
Edwin M. Stanton	1860-1861
Wayne MacVeagh	1881
Benjamin H. Brewster	1881-1885

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

James Wilson	1789-1798
Henry Baldwin	1830-1846
Robert C. Grier	1846-1870
William Strong	1870-1880

PRESIDENTS PRO TEM. OF THE SENATE.

William Bingham	1797
James Ross	1797-1799
Andrew Gregg	1809

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

F. A. Muhlenberg	1789-1791
F. A. Muhlenberg	1793-1795
Galusha A. Grow	1861-1863
Samuel J. Randall	1876-1881

United States Senators from Pennsylvania.

William Maclay.....1789-1791
Robert Morris.....1789-1795
Albert Gallatin.....1793-1794
James Ross.....1794-1803
William Bingham.....1795-1801
John P. G. Muhlenberg.. 1801
George Logan.....1801-1807
Samuel Maclay.....1803-1808
Andrew Gregg.....1807-1813
Michael Leib.....1808-1814
Abner Leacock.....1813-1819
Jonathan Roberts.....1814-1821
Walter Lowrie.....1819-1825
William Findlay.....1821-1827
William Marks.....1825-1831
Isaac D. Barnhard.....1827-1831
George Mifflin Dallas....1831-1833
William Wilkins.....1831-1834
Samuel McKean.....1833-1839
James Buchanan.....1834-1845
Daniel Sturgeon.....1839-1851
Simon Cameron.....1845-1849
James Cooper.....1849-1855
Richard Brodhead.....1851-1857
William Bigler.....1855-1861
Simon Cameron.....1857-1861
David Wilmot..... .1861-1863
Edgar Cowan.....1861-1867
Charles R. Buckalew ...1863-1869
Simon Cameron.....1867-1877
John Scott.....1869-1875
William A. Wallace.....1875-1881
J. Donald Cameron.....1877-1897
John I. Mitchell.....1881-1887
Matthew Stanley Quay..1887-1898
Bois Penrose.....1897 ——

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